

THE Nonconformist.

"THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION."

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ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

THE POLITICS OF CHRISTIANITY.

No. XXV.

EVERYTHING IN ITS PLACE.

CAN we be far wide of the mark, gentle reader, in assuming that in days gone by, ere yet the hand of Time had brushed off from your spirits the fresh bloom of childhood, and when you were wont to heed more obediently the impulse of the moment, than the counsels of prudence—can we greatly err in taking it for granted that among the sage maxims which parental vigilance inculcated upon your observance, sometimes, too, with a spice of reproof, might be found one which ran in this wise—"A place for everything, and everything in its place?" Little did you then suspect, mayhap, that underneath that well-worn admonition, experience would, thereafter, discover to you a rich mine of wisdom. And yet, has it not been so? Have you not observed how large an amount of power and enjoyment, in all the ordinary walks of daily life, is inseparably connected with a uniform attention to that maxim? In good sooth, it is one of those generalizations of practical prudence which seem to be applicable to all departments of conduct—trivial or important—individual or national—and in its universal adaptability resembles the elephant's trunk, which can pick up a pin, or tear up a tree by its roots. Were we disposed to expatiate upon it, we might contend, that it contains within it the germ of good government, and even describes with accuracy the gist of true religion.

Now, we intend to take that maxim as indicating the line of demarcation which encloses a large group of the duties which the existence of civil government imposes upon subjects. It might be imagined, at first blush, that the obligations which may be classed under the head of obedience and submission, present themselves first for consideration. But this is a mistake. We hold relationships which no claims of magistracy can dissolve—we are the natural guardians of rights which no authority of law can justly compel us to surrender. Government is only so far of divine institution as it moves within its legitimate sphere—and, inasmuch as power in the hands of human nature is inherently and invariably disposed to trespass beyond the limits assigned to it, and the chief evils, moreover, which it inflicts upon society, are perpetrated on the outer side of its own proper bounds, the primary duty which subjects have to perform towards the institution entrusted with the maintenance of social order, is to keep it in its place—to resist its encroachments—to see to it, that in pursuance of its ends, it destroys none of the rights of humanity, and meddles with none of the responsibilities which man owes to God.

We are aware that political theorists have assumed as an axiomatic truth, that man, in passing over the frontier line of the social state, surrenders all his natural rights, and ceases, thenceforth, to hold one save from the hands of civil government. By what path of reasoning such writers have found their way to their conclusion, we are at a loss to conjecture. Thus much, however, we are bold to affirm—that a lower, meaner, more abject position, it would be hard to discover. What! Man has no rights but such as society may confer! What is society, but a community of individuals? And how is it possible for every component part of that community to be bereft of what it enjoys as a whole? The truth is, there is nothing whatever in the constitution of society, nothing in the nature or objects of civil government, which calls for this pretended resignation of personal rights. As members of the social state, we renounce nothing but the natural right of employing the physical force within our reach, in vindication of our just claims—and he who is a consenting party to the assumption by the magistrate of any further power or

authority than that required for the public administration of justice, is guilty of treachery to the great family of man. Partly in ignorance, partly through cowardice, our forefathers yielded up to government prerogatives which it behoved them to retain as inalienable—and we, their descendants, are compelled, in consequence of their weakness, to wring back, one by one, not without arduous struggles, what, as wearing the image of God, we claim as our own. Why, the political history of modern times is little more than a record of the efforts of subjects to force their rulers back within their legitimate sphere of action. All the splendid triumphs of modern times have been triumphs of repeal—and to undo what the civil magistrate has wrongfully and presumptuously done will furnish work enough for many generations.

The claim, however, which humanity has upon us, to resist the encroaching disposition of government—a claim, indifference to which would be treason to posterity—is small compared with that which is advanced by the relation in which we stand to the Supreme. The intrusion of civil rule within the realms of conscience—the demands of law where none but Divine authority can be fitly recognised—the daring ambition which essays to regulate the affairs of a "kingdom not of this world"—the impious and vain attempt to govern thought, faith, love, devotion, by appliances of coercion—Oh, who can estimate the wrong which these offer to the Father of spirits? But he who renders obedience is a partaker in sin with him who exacts it. No man is justified in joining this conspiracy against the exclusive rights of Heaven, whether as leader or subordinate, as ruler or subject. This is one of the matters in which, in doubtful instances, loyalty to the Highest will regard resistance, rather than submission, the safest side of error—and will avoid, with becoming zeal, the "very appearance of evil." For, if concern for the honour of our Maker fail to engage our stern and steadfast repudiation of magisterial authority in spiritual affairs, observation and experience of the terrible woes and deep degradation it has brought upon our race, might suffice to rouse us into active moral antagonism. Five-sixths of the suffering which subjects have, ere while, endured at the hands of government, have been the direct result of employing the sword of Cæsar in pretended support of the claims of God—and, to this hour, much of our own political disadvantage is bound up inseparably with the system which assigns to the magistrate the care of religious worship and instruction. The sin still continues to yield us bitter fruits—amongst which, not the least is, a partial paralysis of voluntary zeal, and a canker at the root of our religious faith. The deadly injury we sustain is but the shadow of which impiety is the substance.

We urge it, therefore, as the primary duty which subjects owe to civil government, to keep it, if possible, by the active use of all moral means of resistance, in its proper place—to guard from its encroaching tendencies, the clear rights of humanity, and the high prerogatives of God. They are bound to set their face as a flint against all proposals and practices which would enlarge the original commission with which the magistrate is invested. To restrain evil doing is his business, and to this end organized physical force is placed at his command. All his attempts to pass beyond this well-defined line of action ought to excite opposition, and draw forth remonstrance. And it is comparatively easy, as well as incaleculably important, for patriotic and intelligent vigilance, to prevent the evil in the first stages of its development. It may seem trivial in its beginnings—scarcely worth resistance—but wise men will resolve their doubts, as Brutus resolved his:—

"And since the quarrel
Will bear no colour for the thing it is,
Fashion it thus; that what it is, augmented,
Would run to these, and these extremities;
And therefore think it as a serpent's egg,
Which, hatch'd, would, as its kind, grow mischievous;
And kill it in the shell."

ENGLISH ARCHIEPISCOPACY.

THE Primate of England is no more. A few months since the Archbishop of York died. Within a very short period of each other two old men have gone to their account, and, having held for many years the chief offices in the Church of England, have passed from the world like a tale that is told, and ere long will be forgotten. As far as we are aware, the character of both was without reproach; they were respectable in their life, and their memory is respected after their death. Amiability, courtesy, desire for

peace and quietness, unexceptionableness in the proper and dignified maintenance of their state, and liberal expenditure of their princely incomes, appear to have been their chief characteristics; they stood well in the estimation of the world, and the world speaks well of them now they are gone.

Without making any invidious reflections, therefore, on the characters of the departed archbishops, we think it is a right and proper thing to inquire into the condition of that system which, professing itself to be antagonistic to the world, yet retains within itself all the elements of worldliness, and in its officers, its bishops and its archbishops, is content with the same endowments and practice as are required in all worldly offices of trust and patronage.

In the first place, then, such a system must be contradictory, and therefore false, in its position. The Archbishop of York dies, his effects are sold, and it appears that his income has been spent in the gratification of tastes perfectly natural to a man of his condition, but wholly inconsistent with the precepts of Him who founded the church of which the Archbishop professes to be the support. His campaign was of the first vintage, his claret of the finest quality, his old tawny port excellent. His wines had been kept long and well in the cellars of the palace; but in the meantime, where was the self-denying charity, the sympathy with the poor and needy, the spending and being spent in the service of his flock? Where was the loud denunciation of abuses, and the manly advocacy of the cause of suffering humanity? where the dividing of his goods among his poor, hard-working brethren? These questions have, ere this, been answered at a tribunal before which the best and wisest of men will take to himself shame and confusion of face that he has done no more, and therefore it becomes us not to enter into them further; but we say it does become us—nay, it is a paramount duty—to place the conduct of any man, living or dead, side by side with his profession, and if we find them totally and diametrically opposed, to denounce either the man himself or the system of which he has been the tool and the dupe. Now, if we find that the Church of England professes to take the Bible for its standard of doctrine and practice—that in her places of worship, day after day, and week after week, the plain, unmistakable language of the New Testament is read—unmistakeable in its opposition to the world and the things of the world, plain in its denunciations against all who prevent its free operation or misinterpret its single meaning by placing around it the trammels of political power, or by explaining it in the spirit of expediency—and if we find that in the face of this profession and this reading, the choice of the chief officers is decided on principles plainly deprecated in that profession, namely, on considerations of worldly station and political partizanship—then we may safely, and without presumption, conclude that a system in which exist monstrosities so gross, and absurdities so palpable, is altogether rotten at the core, and hastening to decay.

The proof that this is the fact, namely, that station and political opinion form the criteria of fitness for those high positions, is in every man's mouth. Who will be the new Archbishop? is the prevailing question. What is the reply? Conjecture runs thus—Such and such a bishop is a decided Liberal, Lord John will surely nominate him—Dr. So-and-so is of excellent family, and supported the Whigs through thick and thin during their last innings—Bishop Such-a-one is on intimate terms with the Premier, he will be the man. Alas! who thinks of enumerating the graces of the Christian character as a qualification—love to God and his neighbour as the ground of a man's expectation of preferment—faith, hope, and charity, as proof of his fitness for the office? Away with such a grumbler from the earth!

If this, then, is true—if the Church of England, notwithstanding her profession, is a mere political institution, and her ministers political agents, for what a frightful amount of pharisaical hypocrisy has such a system to answer. With one hand pomp and power are grasped with tenacity, while with the other, in sanctimonious solemnity, lowliness and humility are held forth for the admiration of a wondering people. His Grace of Canterbury, dashing through the poverty-stricken lanes of Lambeth in his carriage and four, with postilion and footmen in gorgeous liveries—an old man, long past the age when in any other office in the State he would have been superannuated—presented a strange appearance as the representative of that religion in which self-denying benevolence and energetic action are alike indispensable. An ancient man, shorn of his energy,

incapable of exertion, and tottering on the brink of the grave, yet surrounded with all the insignia of office, decked out in all the splendour of princely state, and holding still the wealth and power which he is incapable of enjoying, was no inapt representation of that old system which, fast mouldering away before the advancement of knowledge, yet stands forth in all the gorgeous trappings of its younger days, and, verging on impotency and second childhood, babbles for the finery that only renders it ridiculous.

There can be no doubt that the Church of England has been indebted for her long-sustained influence, and is now indebted for her existence, to her wealth and imposing position; there can also be no doubt that the rapidly increasing intelligence of the age is setting right against that position, and beginning to inquire concerning the possession of that wealth. Neither can there be any doubt that divisions within are gradually wasting the means of defence, and exposing the bulwarks of the Church to the attacks of the enemy without. When was it that endowed error could stand against the force of truth, and the strong convictions of an oppressed people; or when could antiquated forms of belief, and worn out systems of error, oppose themselves successfully against the power of independent thought and unfettered action?

If any good is effected in a Church founded on principles so essentially false as these, it must be clear to every one, that such good is done in spite of the system, and not by its instrumentality. Truth is read and preached in a church, and a man is converted by its influence, but that truth makes its way to the man's heart *in spite of* the errors both of system and of dogma which surround it. He would be much better without the latter. Had he received the truth as it is propounded in the New Testament, unclogged by form and ceremony, he would have gone about a freer, happier, and wiser man. If he thought less of being a Churchman he would make a better Christian; and were he less orthodox in his creed his knowledge would be more extensive and his ideas less superstitious. A man who fears to look up for himself, because between him and the light there is an artificial barrier of creed and formularies, can have no pleasure in his prospect—his thoughts are bounded; and where, then, is the imagination, that communicator of all that is beautiful and true, which, properly directed, acts like the electric wire, and brings down to the heart of man spark after spark from the inexhaustible centre of knowledge and happiness?

THE ANTI-STATE-CHURCH MOVEMENT.

THE LANCASHIRE TOUR.

MEETING AT STOCKPORT.

(Abridged from the *Manchester Examiner**)

A public meeting, convened by the British Anti-State-Church Association, was held on Monday evening, in the Lyceum, Wellington-street, Stockport, being the first of a series for the purpose of diffusing a knowledge of the principles and objects of the Association, and securing for it a larger measure of support from the inhabitants of this district. The room was well filled, so that there would be about 700 persons present, a majority of whom consisted of the working classes. James Watts, Esq., presided.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, said he was happy to say that his first appearance at a public meeting in Stockport was in connexion with the Anti-State-Church Association. He had been for many years identified with the principles of the association, and felt great pleasure in being present that night.

The Rev. S. T. PORTER, of Darwen, moved the first resolution. After alluding to the failure of the quiescent policy pursued by the dissenters of Stockport, he said that he believed that churchmen were not conscious of the wrong they were committing towards their dissenting brethren:—

What were those wrongs? He would place them briefly before the meeting. There was a certain class of religionists who had persuaded government that they were fit to have special honours and endowments conferred upon them to the exclusion of all other classes of religionists. That they might gain those honours and endowments, they had proposed to do a certain class of duties, which, they thought, would tend to strengthen that government. The government believed this, and so the contract was entered into. Now, other classes of religionists saw no reason for this. But the thing was done, and dissenters found that, in consequence of the honours and rewards bestowed upon this class, their children could not enter any department of social life without disadvantage. We go further, said the speaker. We rise to manhood, and we do not find "a fair field and no favour," but we find an unfair field, and favour shown to others, and, in all our struggles, party spirit is shown against us, and in favour of the honoured set. We become parishioners; we have an interest in a particular locality; but we find that we cannot take part in parochial duties, unless we practically make concessions to this favoured class which we feel it unworthy of ourselves, as men, to make [cheers]. We look on various magisterial offices, and we find ourselves positively excluded from them, unless we will say or swear that which, if we say or swear in one sense, those who impose it mean in another; or, if our consciences allow us to make the declaration, or swear the oath, we still find ourselves, from various sinister influences, subjected to this eternal snubbing. Go where we

will, we go as dissenters; we pass as men whose sentiments must be looked at with suspicion; we are, in fact, men whom our government, in one form or another, have declared unworthy of confidence. If we are so, let it be proved. But we go still further; we look at our horrid war establishment, and, though we do not say that the church and state principle is the sole influence, we say that it is amongst the greatest of the influences which help the maintenance of that establishment. I trace its existence, and the attempt to increase it, to this same church-and-state principle, rather than any other. Nor can we wonder at it. We see the clergy, from 14,000 to 24,000 in number, scattered all over the country, with various conventional rights and influences committed to them; each supported by a corps of churchwardens, clerks, sextons, &c. forming about twenty to one; then we find other officers, a vast body, all bound hand and soul to the government, and to the maintenance of things as they are; all their influence must go in that direction: they necessarily, naturally associate and sympathize with the rich rather than the poor; and thus it is that the influence of the church tends to establish and maintain those institutions wherein the sons of the richer classes seek for a refuge and a livelihood. We find that the British colonies are all organized and administered so as to work out this same great principle. We go still further. We look upon man as a spiritual being, and, having some faith in God, in Christianity, and the Bible, we strive to bring our fellow-creatures into communion with God and Christ. We go into the dark places of the earth; we send out the best and bravest of our sons; we plant the standard of the cross there; and then we find our footsteps tracked by the emissaries of this system, and cease to have a fair field for our labours.

The speaker proceeded to show that the Church-and-state principle, besides being productive of these and other wrongs, was an evil principle in itself, and calculated to work a very small amount of good. He urged the meeting to look into its history and operation, and, if they came to the same conclusion as he had, to do all they could for its extinction. He concluded by moving—

That, in the opinion of this meeting, it forms no part of the business of a civil government to provide religious instruction for the people, all such interference being contrary to Scripture, injurious to religion, and hostile to liberty of conscience. That, looking to the past history of this country, and to the operation of this principle, in the existence of a State-church, this meeting is convinced of the necessity of adopting a more just and scriptural system, in order to the advancement of Christianity and the national interests.

The Rev. STEPHEN HOOPER, of Heaton Mersey, seconded the motion, which was carried almost unanimously, and amidst loud cheering.

The Rev. D. RHYS STEPHEN, of Manchester, proposed the second resolution, which was as follows:—

That, in the judgment of this meeting, the British Anti-state-church Association is calculated, both by its principles and its modes of operation, to effect the great object of its formation,—the liberation of religion from all state interference,—and it therefore rejoices at the extension of its operations, and expresses an ardent desire that they may be followed by abundant success.

After alluding to the opponents of the movement, and their objections, he said:—

Numbers do not determine truth. The first preachers of Christianity were but twelve, and, since the fall of man, the good has always been in a minority. But, so far as true representation is concerned, taking in the three kingdoms, I fearlessly say that we represent the principles and practice of the majority of the people [cheers]. In Ireland, there are seven millions of Dissenters and about two of Churchmen. The oldest vicar in Wales said to him, about three years ago, "Mr. Rhys Stephen, I admit to you candidly, before high heaven, that the Established Church in Ireland is the hugest wickedness in Europe" [cheers]. Then, in Scotland, more than half the people were practically Nonconformists. In Wales, not two out of every ten of the inhabitants worshipped in the Established Church—[hear, hear]—and in England, as to actual worship, a decided majority of the people knew nothing of the inside of a church [cheers]. So far, then, as opinion was concerned, giving our countrymen credit for common honesty, the Anti-state-church Association represented a decided majority of the British people [cheers]. Then it was urged, "How is it that you are not joined by a greater number of the people?" The answer was easy—communities do not at once carry out a clear principle to all its lengths. It was first enunciated by a thinker, and then the worker took it up, and worked until it permeated the national mind. He did not believe in the honesty of wholesale conversions. Truth, in a spirit of kindness and love, must be offered and explained, and it would gradually find its way into the popular heart. In human affairs, truth fell into fissures, touching the minds of cabinets and statesmen, producing contests, doubts, and clashings of interest, whilst religion, looking calmly and benignantly down, drew out of the apparently disorderly conflict the accomplishment of her own purposes; and in due time, with the help of that Association or without it, the world would see that worldly powers had not to do with conscience, with religion, with Christ, and with God, but that the gospel of Christ was in itself a sufficient force to accomplish its own work, without the aid of political contrivances, or party interests, of human governments, or even against the entire force of one and the other [cheers].

The Rev. JOHN RUSSELL, of Stockport, seconded the resolution, which was carried as before.

The Rev. C. STOVEL, of London, proposed—

That the grave aspect of public affairs solemnly enforces the duty of increased exertions on the part of the advocates of the separation of Church and State, while the events which have recently occurred in the Establishment encourage a reasonable expectation that such exertions, aided by the evident tendencies of public opinion, will terminate in eventual and early triumph.

It might be asked, "What do you wish to be done?" He would endeavour to answer the question clearly. First of all, however, he would state what they did not wish to be done, but what it was often alleged that they did desire. They did not wish to overthrow the Church Establishment of England, and to put themselves into its place of political advantage. In the second place, it was supposed that they wished recklessly to interfere with what were called "vested personal rights and properties." He entertained no such notion—the society entertained no such notion. They did not wish, supposing the people of England were prepared for it, that one bishop, clergyman, or person belonging to the Established Church, should be at all the worse for the change. Let the present incumbents either die out or be paid out: they would give every man the full inheritance of what the law would assign to him in the case. Further, it was often supposed that they wished to lay violent hands upon those properties which were given to charitable purposes, or by personal and voluntary endowment to the different churches in the Establishment. No such thing. That which was strictly the property of the Church, let the Church possess. All that they wished to speak of in this movement, was that property which might be strictly called national property [cheers]. They would, of course, cut off

all the Church's applications to Parliament for Parliamentary grants; they would just ask the bishops to be so kind as to vacate their seats in the House of Lords [great cheering], not being able to see exactly what good they did there. In short, they would ask simply that the Church should have no political advantage which was not granted to all parties whatever [cheers]—that it should not take from Government what other parties could not conscientiously take—or, in other words, that there should not be any more Government support or Government control of religion [applause]. There was another point to be explained and kept distinctly in view. It was asked, "What will you do with the property of the Church?" Now, with respect to this question, it was very strange that they could not find out how much the property was. It was reported to be between six and eight millions a year. But, whatever the amount was, his answer to the question was, if there be £6,000,000 a year, it will take off a good large slice of the national debt [loud cheers]. If this mode of dealing with it was not liked, he should have no very great objection if it were formed into a fund for the relief of the poor, so as to soften the pressure of the poor-rate [cheers]. Let the money be devoted strictly to national purposes, and he should be content [cheers]. Then the objection occurred, "What will you do with religion supposing you take away this its national support?" and also, "How will Government conduct its movements when deprived of clerical influence?" Now he thought he loved religion if he loved anything at all; from her truths he had drawn his sweetest comforts and joys in times of sorrow; by the light of her torch he had threaded the paths of life through intricacies which had been the lot of few men; and he said, leave religion to herself and God [cheers]. He could not help thinking, that if there were not strength enough in the principles of our holy faith to stand without the shore and prop of Government, she would unquestionably be only encumbered with that support, and thereby made a deluder, and not a benefactor to mankind. Let her stand alone, and she would show her innate strength and beauty—she would become "fair as the moon, and bright as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners" [cheers].

The speaker then adverted to the circumstance, that all the great moral and religious movements of modern times had been the result of voluntary effort, Government only interfering afterwards for its own purposes. It employed Church patronage to strengthen its own hands, and to furnish support to the aristocracy. After alluding to the cry for a national armament he called on them to ask for the removal of all unjust impositions, including that of a Church Establishment, so that the country might not be burdened with the building of more churches, the keeping of more bishops, and the payment of church-rates. Glancing at the history of this rate, he showed that the people had at first a voice in the raising of it, but that now it had been decided by Judge Fust, that the minority in a parish, who might be the officials, had power to impose a church-rate, whether the parish willed or not. He also showed that the revenues of the Church were originally appropriated to the feeding of the poor, to the support of the clergy, and the sustaining of the edifices; but that, in the lapse of time, the Church had thrown upon the people the burden of maintaining the poor and preserving the edifices. After alluding to several other points, the speaker concluded amidst considerable applause.

Mr. CARVELL WILLIAMS, Secretary of the Association, seconded the motion in an able speech, in the course of which he contended that government was constituted for civil purposes—that it had no right to interfere with religion—and no right to appropriate taxes, paid by all the people, to the support of a creed which was conscientiously objected to by a large portion of the people. He pointed to the oppressions which had been practised in various parts of the country. The State-church had been, and was, a perpetual obstacle in the path of political and social reformers, and that this could excite no surprise when its aristocratic character was considered. He urged men of all sects to unite with the Association in the work, as being an essentially national one.

Mr. THOMAS WEBB, a working man, having obtained permission to speak, supported the resolution. He, however, hoped that the leaders of this movement would show greater sympathy with the working classes than they had hitherto done.

The motion was then carried against two or three dissentients, and votes of thanks to the deputation from London, as well as to the chairman, having been passed, the meeting separated at ten o'clock.

MEETING AT BOLTON.

Another public meeting, convened by the "British Anti-state-church Association for the Liberation of Religion from all State Interference," was held in the Town-hall, Bolton, on the evening of Tuesday last. As it had been at Stockport on the previous night, so it was at Bolton—a dense, searching rain fell almost without intermission, making it an act of some self-sacrifice for people to stir from their firesides. In spite, however, of this unpropitious state of the weather, the hall was comfortably filled, and a considerable number of persons were on the platform. Amongst them were the Rev. Charles Stovel and Mr. Carvell Williams, the deputation from London; the Revs. D. Rhys Stephen, of Manchester, S. T. Porter, of Darwen, David Nimmo, Charles Edwards, B. Etheridge, &c. &c.

Mr. ADAM FERGUSON, having been called to the chair, in some brief remarks, solicited a calm consideration of the subject.

The Rev. D. NIMMO moved—

That all interference by the civil government with the religion of the people violates human rights, and sets aside divine authority; and therefore that the dissolution of the connexion now existing between the Church and State is an object calling for the most earnest and vigorous efforts of every Christian man and lover of his country.

The Rev. S. T. PORTER, at some length, seconded the motion.

The Rev. B. ETHERIDGE, of Bolton, proposed the second resolution:—

That entertaining the sentiment already expressed, this meeting rejoices in the existence of the British Anti-state-church Association, and cordially approving of its constitution and plans of action, is desirous of affording to it the heartiest support.

The rev. gentleman expressed his hearty concurrence in the object of the association, which he believed was perfectly adapted to accomplish the end in view, and he should give it his hearty support because he loved

* The *Manchester Examiner* published a supplement expressly for the purpose of giving reports of the Stockport, Bolton, and Manchester meetings, accounts of which also appeared in the *Manchester Times*.

religion. He believed that those who were afraid, or too shy, to support the association, and those who neglected to support it, and yet professed to love religion, would soon be forced to come out. He was glad to see so good a meeting in the town of Bolton on such a subject, especially on such an inclement night; he was glad, also, to see so many young people present, and sympathizing with the object of the association; and he hoped that all who attended the meeting would become members.

The Rev. C. STOVEL seconded the resolution.

He said that all his feeling with reference to this great movement had been awakened from considering what he deemed its professed religious importance. Although for twenty years, at least, his mind had been made up respecting the principle of State churches, yet for a long time he withheld any considerable support or exertion in favour of the movements of Dissenters, on two grounds. First, because the Dissenters, in their early movements, only pleaded certain limited grievances which affected themselves, and it seemed to him that this was not only a feeling short of the mark, but that it painfully invested the whole question with a selfish character [hear, hear]. Nothing could be more important, in a movement which related to public affairs, than to consider the matter as one which affected all mankind. And, moreover, those persons who did go the whole length of pleading that Government interference with religion should cease, always urged their appeals, both to the Government and the people, too exclusively on what might be called the pecuniary injustice; and hence it appeared that the object sought was not only one which affected worldly interests mainly, but it did, and necessarily, assume something of a mercenary character.

He then alluded to the tyrannical spirit manifested by the Establishment in former times, closing his historic review by a reference to the Hampden case. He also dwelt at great length on the various grounds on which State churches were defended, and on the difficulties with which the subject surrounded the Government.

The motion was unanimously carried.

The Rev. D. RHYS STEPHEN proposed the next resolution:—

That while this meeting believes it to be the duty of Nonconformists at all times to seek the advancement of their distinguishing principles, the course of public events, both ecclesiastical and legislative, affords a peculiarly favourable opportunity for more vigorous efforts to enlighten the public mind on this great question.

He pointed out the inconsistency of Government in diffusing opposite opinions in different parts of the empire, by which they had entirely cut from under the feet of pro-state churchmen their own argument, that it was the duty of a Christian Government to support truth. He concluded by drawing attention to the startling fact, that Sir George Grey had given instructions to the Governor of Jamaica to bring into the House of Assembly an Education Bill, a compulsory Education Bill, by which the negroes, who were mostly dissenters, and who now supported their own missions, ministers, and schools, would be taxed for the compulsory religious education given in the Government Schools. He said that government dare not have introduced such a Bill into the English Parliament, and earnestly called on the friends of freedom and of religious liberty to oppose stoutly this daring inroad about to be attempted on the liberty of the negroes.

Mr. CARVELL WILLIAMS seconded the resolution. He drew attention to recent events, for the purpose of showing that the task undertaken by the Association was not likely to be as difficult as they had been accustomed to think. He also attended to the growth of voluntarism in the establishment, as paving the way for a change. "Erected by voluntary contributions," might now be emblazoned on many of its edifices, the ministers of which could no longer taunt their dissenting brethren with being dependent on their flocks for support.

A vote of thanks to the Deputation was then passed amidst hearty cheering, and a similar compliment having been paid to the Chairman for his services, the Meeting separated at a quarter past ten o'clock.

MEETING AT LIVERPOOL.

(Abridged from the *Liverpool Mercury*.)

A meeting to promote the objects of the "British Anti-state-church Association, for the Liberation of Religion from all State Interference," was held last evening, in the Concert-hall, Lord Nelson-street. The following gentlemen attended as a deputation from the executive committee:—Edward Miall, Esq., editor of the *Nonconformist*, the Rev. Charles Stovel, and Mr. J. C. Williams. A charge of sixpence was made to the gallery, but the body was thrown open free. There were upwards of 1,000 persons present. Richard Johnson, Esq., presided, and in addition to the deputation there were on the platform:—Rev. David Loxton, Rev. Jos. Tunstall, Rev. A. Duff, Rev. J. Reid, Rev. J. Rogers, Rev. J. Garside, Rev. — Wiseman, Rev. W. Liddell, and Rev. — Patterson, John Coward, Esq., S. Stitt, Esq., jun., T. Urquhart, Esq., C. E. Rawlings, Esq., S. B. Jackson, Esq., Dr. Roche, — Burley Roose, Esq., Wm. Brown, Esq., G. Medley, Esq., K. Liversidge, Esq., J. T. Hayward, Esq., and E. Rugs, of Lenton.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the business, stated the principles of the association. He said it was often thought that meetings of this kind were composed principally of persons opposed to the Church of England. They were not in any way opposed to the Episcopal Church, but they considered that the Almighty Creator had made all mankind of one flesh and one blood, and permitted every man to worship his Creator according to the dictates of his own conscience. They considered the taxes of this country one common property of the individuals who contributed to them, and giving any portion of these funds to any one denomination was contrary to the principles of justice and equity. They objected to the endowment of Episcopacy in England, Presbyterianism in Scotland, and Catholicism in Canada; they objected to the *regium donum* and other grants to Dissenters, to the Maynooth grant, and to giving any grants of public money to any one sect. He argued that the most popular churches, and the most energetic ministers in Liverpool, were to be found (even in the Church of England) in those churches which had been built by voluntary con-

tributions. He alluded to the exertions of the Rev. Dr. McNeile in building two or three churches, and to the exertions of other clergymen in Liverpool on the voluntary principle. He concluded by calling on the

Rev. D. LOXTON, who proposed the following resolution:—

That, in the judgment of this meeting, all legislation by civil government for the support or diffusion of religion is contrary to the principles clearly deducible from God's Word; is hostile to the advancement of truth, and the full enjoyment of civil liberty.

Mr. CARVELL WILLIAMS seconded the resolution:—

He thought that much of the prejudice entertained against the movement originated in a mistaken notion of the ideas conveyed by the term "aggressive policy," applied by some to the present conduct of Dissenters. Now they were not like a monarch making war on an inoffensive neighbour, with a view to enrich themselves and to degrade others. Was it asked, why then did they raise so great an outcry? Let them ask the worm why it turned when trampled on—the man unjustly deprived of liberty, why he sighed for freedom, and sought to break his bonds—the victim of oppression, rousing himself to obtain deliverance, why he became urgent and importunate, and in the reply they would have both an explanation of and an apology for the present attitude of Dissent [cheers]. They saw the Government, which was instituted for the benefit of all, patronizing the creed of a few, supporting it at their expense, and degrading them in numberless ways, and yet they were expected to display a spirit of superhuman meekness, and submit without a murmur! That, however, was but a comparatively selfish view of the case, for they were seeking, not their own good exclusively, but the good of all, of every creed. They saw religion corrupted and enfeebled by being employed as a political engine; that a State-church abridged human liberty, and like a spectre, continually dogged the Government to thwart its measures for the national welfare, and that its social influence was equally pernicious and withering. And such being their views it would be criminal in them, they would be partners in the wrong, if they did not proclaim them upon the very housetop, and seek for a thorough change [cheers]. But it was alleged that such a procedure would frustrate the efforts now being made to promote Christian union. Union, however, would be purchased dearly, if obtained only by the sacrifice of truth [hear, hear]. It was rather too much to ask him to submit to oppression, that he might the more cordially unite with the oppressor. Besides, real Christian union was impossible so long as a State-church existed [cheers]. He would shake hands with his brother in the Establishment; but was he to be satisfied with doing so only over a high wall, or through prison bars? and should he not rather seek to liberate him from bondage, that they might meet, not only palm to palm, but heart to heart, taking sweet counsel together, walking to the house of God in company, and when there be at liberty to join in the same services without fear of prelatical frowns, or ecclesiastical penalties? [loud cheers]. In this respect Dissenters were in far happier circumstances than Churchmen, for however else they suffered, they, at least, were uninfluenced by the issuing of *congéd d'élites*, the terrors of a præmunire, or the cutting epistles of a Prime Minister [laughter, and cheers]. There was yet another objection relied on by some, which was, that however sound might be their principles, it was hopeless to expect their adoption. He supposed it would be useless to urge on those who so talked, the claims of duty, irrespective of the prospect of success. Yet, when they read of the achievements of the heroes of a past age, their bosoms swelled with generous admiration, and they almost clapped their hands on finding that their labour was followed by reward. And why? Not because their path was a smooth one, and their difficulties few, but because they struggled manfully against the most formidable obstacles, and, though oftentimes driven back, returned with fresh vigour to the encounter [cheers]. He trusted that events would falsify the assertion that the race of heroes was extinct, and that there were now living, it might be in obscurity, men who would tread in the steps of so glorious an ancestry [loud cheers]. But was it certain that their project was of so Utopian a kind? Surely those who thought so must have either never read the newspaper of the last year, or have done so to very little profit. He then adverted to the debate on the Jewish question, and to the proceedings consequent on Dr. Hampden's appointment. Referring to the latter, he said, that the conduct of one section of the Church who had recently been patting Dr. Hampden on the back reminded him of an Irishman who, in attempting to strike a fish with his scythe, cut off his own head, and they might believe that or not, as they liked—so neatly was the operation performed, that poor Pat was unconscious of it until he saw his head floating down the stream [great laughter, and cheers]. Just so it was with the evangelical clergy. In approving Lord John Russell's policy they had been cutting their own heads off, and they would soon see in the stream of events the result of the blow. He concluded by urging them to avail themselves of so unusually favourable an opportunity as the present for the advocacy of their principles.

The resolution was put from the Chair, and carried unanimously.

The Rev. C. STOVEL, of London, moved the second resolution:—

That the practical adoption of the principle already expressed by the separation of the Church from the State, is an object to which the energies of every citizen and Christian should be perseveringly directed; and this meeting, therefore, regards the operations of the British Anti-state-church Association with the highest satisfaction, as well as with the greatest hopefulness.

He said they did not come to gain a victory over the meeting, but to advance the study of a great question; and, if they were wrong, to be themselves instructed. The present movement, considered in itself, had two great aspects. The one as it looked on Dissenters, or agitators, as they were called; and the other, as it regarded their opponents, and those who stood aside from their active measures. With respect to the first, it was called political, aggressive, and complaining. Those who said this reminded him of the Grecian rustic, who, placing a mussel on the hearthstone to be roasted, struck it with a hammer because it was so uncourteous as to mourn under the influence of the fire [cheers]. He contended that voluntary energy produced the Sabbath-schools and home missions of England, and laid bare the frightful ignorance of the agricultural districts. Voluntary energy created foreign missionary zeal, and all those best features which had been imitated by the hierarchy itself, and constituted its great strength, for without these it would long since have died of the natural visitation of God. Not only had the voluntary principle produced this, and set before her the example that had given her all that she might now call real strength, but it had produced the agitation relating to education, against which they struggled of late. The Government looked with a longing eye at the voluntary schools, popular and free, and they said, "Unless these schools are in our hands the control of the people will never be complete" [hear]. He then referred to the late discussion between Mr. Miall and Mr.

Baylee, and said, in glancing over the report of it, he was struck with the fact, that the antagonist of Mr. Miall failed to produce a positive law to which an empire might be asked to bow. The Hebrew law imposed no regal or civil impost, or compulsory exaction whatever. He said it was the duty of those who supported church governments to show how the affirmation of our Lord, that his kingdom was not of this world, else would his servants fight, was consistent with their conduct in bowing down before the Government in these realms, and saying, "We ask support from you because we are Christ's servants; and, therefore, must our supporters fight" [loud applause]. Look at the whole history of empires. Was it yet ever found that any Government, by civil acts, ever produced one religious feeling in the heart of a subject? The heart could not be touched by human laws: it never could by any means be led by human laws to God; and, therefore, he argued that civil governments had no right to interfere with religion.

Mr. E. MIALL was received with loud and renewed cheering on rising to second the resolution.

He said, agitator as he was, it was not his intention to inflict a wound on the feelings of any opponents present. He was there that evening, and he had been elsewhere, more for their service than for his own [hear]. He valued freedom as much as most men, civil and religious. He felt those petty inconveniences to which they were sometimes subjected in consequence of the working of the established system as much so as any man who had a home and loved peace; but he considered all these as comparatively nothing in his estimation when he saw a large religious community, a section of the community, in a hopeless, hapless, piteous bondage [applause]. He had compassion for his fellow-countrymen, members of the Episcopal Church, and would remember them in their bondage [applause]. He had witnessed the cruel degradation to which they had been recently exposed. His sympathies had been with them to an extent, and he had felt, if he were but one of them, he would throw away all advantages, and assert his manhood and independence [cheers]. He wondered how they could continue where they were. The Prime Minister had put his hand on the shoulder of the Episcopal Church in these realms, saying, "I am your master." The words had been heard and uttered through the interpretation of law in the highest courts of these realms; and yet—wonderful to him—thousands of men, whose piety he regarded, and whose love of freedom he supposed to have been strong, had hesitated until now, and he feared would now hesitate until the end of the chapter, to resent the indignity put on their religious institutions. Why, if that short note of Lord John Russell to Dean Merewether—the reply to a lengthened, learned, and somewhat obsequious epistle—if that did not sink as a bullet into the very heart of those who valued their own religious freedom and independence, he knew not what could [applause]. If he had been one of the Establishment at the time, he should have blushed for his connexion with it. He could not have gone about without feeling that he had no voice in the choice of his ecclesiastical governors—that he had nothing but a few shows, representations, pretensions, shams, and delusions, to make him think that he was free, whilst, in reality, he was under the bondage of an act of Parliament, and of any minister who chose to carry that act into effect. He believed their fellow-Christians of the Establishment had felt the reproach and the disgrace to which their church had been exposed in consequence of that proceeding. He was with them when they said that the civil power had no right whatever to trample on the judgment and the best feelings of Christ's church [applause]. He contended they were in that position in consequence of receiving into their own experience the very principles that they had assisted to be fully and clearly developed in the mind of Government. He argued that State establishments were only supported because of their political agency, and concluded amidst loud applause.

On the motion of Mr. MIALL, seconded by the Rev. C. STOVEL, a vote of thanks was passed to the chairman, and the meeting separated at ten o'clock.

A Liverpool correspondent has obligingly furnished us with the following "rough sketch" of the meeting:—On Thursday evening, the 10th inst., a public meeting was held in the Concert-hall, Liverpool, to receive Messrs. Miall, Stovel, and Williams, as a deputation from the Executive Committee of the British Anti-state-church Association. Nothing daunted by the ruffianly opposition encountered a year before, from the believers in "Kentish fire," the local committee threw open to the public the larger portion of the commodious building, charging only for admission to the gallery. There was a good attendance, at an early hour. The chair was taken by Richard Johnson, Esq., at half-past seven; at this time the spacious floor of the hall was densely crowded, chiefly by men of respectable exterior. The galleries were comfortably covered, and were graced with a number of ladies. The whole character and spirit of the meeting indicated that the great object it was convened to promote had advanced considerably in public estimation within the past few months. Thorough-going resolutions were submitted, and unanimously passed. The deputation received a hearty welcome, and were heard with the greatest interest and attention until a late hour. The discussion of 1847 was not forgotten. On his rising, Mr. Miall was greeted with successive bursts of applause, which, on resuming his seat, were repeated. A few of the lowest of the disturbers of the last year's meeting were recognised amongst the crowd, and ventured some feeble attempts at annoyance, but feeling their weakness, in the midst of an overwhelming number of those who were friendly to the Association, they contented themselves with hissing while others cheered; and hid their diminished heads beneath the gallery, or made themselves conspicuous in the midst of uncovered heads, by keeping on their hats to conceal their characters. If it be asked, "Have any of the rulers yet believed?" we should say "a few;" and we cherish hopes of many more. Had not the meeting been held (unavoidably) on an evening on which several congregations meet, we believe that some of their ministers would have evinced their sympathy; and that the hall would have been crowded in every part.

MEETING AT MANCHESTER.

(Abridged from the *Manchester Examiner*.)

A public meeting of the friends and supporters of the "British Anti-state-church Association for the Liberation of Religion from all State Interference," was held last night, at 7 o'clock, in the Corn Exchange, Hanging Ditch. This was the fourth meeting which has been held under the auspices of the Association, during the present week, in Lancashire. The first two meetings

were held at Stockport and Bolton, on Monday and Tuesday evenings (of which meetings we have given a pretty full report in another part of our paper); a third was held on Thursday evening in Liverpool, and was attended by about 1,000 persons; and the fourth, held in this town, was the largest and most enthusiastic of the whole. There were, we should say, about 1,500 persons present. Mr. E. Miall, editor of the *Nonconformist*, the Rev. Charles Stovel, and Mr. J. Carvell Williams, secretary, attended as a deputation from the Association. William Burd, jun., Esq., presided; and amongst the gentlemen present were the Rev. William McKerrrow, the Rev. Richard Morris, Rev. Dr. Massie, Rev. D. Rhys Stephen, Rev. J. Pearce, Rev. R. Jones, Rev. T. G. Lee, Rev. G. Hoyle, Rev. John Peters, Rev. Enoch Darke, Rev. Joseph Saul, Rev. J. Fox, Rev. J. Dean, Rev. J. Thornton, of Stockport, Rev. A. Clark, of Stockport, Rev. S. Hooper, of Heaton Mersey; Rev. E. Edwards; as well as about a dozen of the students of the Lancashire Independent College, including Mr. R. W. M'All (Dr. M'All's son) and others; Messrs. Penrose, William Watts, John Hull, — Cooper, Thomas Roberts, J. Fildes, — Whyatt, J. A. Cheetham, T. Falvey, Alderman Burd, W. Morris, A. Prentice, — Needham, J. Hibbert, &c. &c.

Letters were read from George Hadfield, Esq., and the Rev. Thomas Allin, expressing their deep regret at being unable to attend the meeting, and their heartiest sympathy with its object.

The CHAIRMAN alluded to the object for which they had assembled, and also to recent events which rendered such a meeting desirable, and particularly to the Hampden proceedings and the imprisonment of John Simonds.

These things showed the *animus* which was produced by the Established Church. They showed the sort of men which clung to it, and they showed what they could do and what their feelings were. But the great point they had to consider was not these little matters, these external shoals of what lay beneath. They had to do with the principle; for the working of this principle, the secret working of this principle, produced evils deeply dangerous and disastrous indeed. It was of small consequence that the man should be cast into gaol for a church-rate; but it was of high consequence that our holy religion should not be formularized, and secularized, and debased, and degraded by connexion with the State [great applause]. Let them keep that, therefore, in view; let them not be mere grievance mongers; let them keep their whole aim in view, steadily. Let nothing cause them to swerve from that direct path. Let them go on from strength to strength and from sacrifice to sacrifice, until the great and glorious good was accomplished, until the principal men of this country should pronounce that all religions were not only equal but free [great applause]; and that a man was at liberty to worship his God or not to worship him, as he pleased [hear, hear]. He would not longer detain them, but had great pleasure in calling upon the Rev. Dr. Massie to propose the first resolution.

The Rev. Dr. MASSIE then came forward amidst loud cheers to propose the first resolution, which was as follows:—

That this meeting cordially approves of the fundamental principle of the British Anti-state-church Association, viz.—“That in matters of religion man is responsible to God alone; that all legislation by secular governments in affairs of religion is an encroachment upon the rights of man, and an invasion of the prerogatives of God; and the application by law of the resources of the State to the maintenance of any form or forms of religious worship and instruction, is contrary to reason, hostile to human liberty, and decidedly opposed to the word of God;” and that we each and all pledge ourselves to use every legal and constitutional means at our command to give such principle legislative effect.

He said he thought he was acting the part of a good citizen and kindly neighbour in supporting the agitation for the separation of Church and State. It might be asked what they would do with the revenues of the Church. He would allow the Lord Bishop of Manchester and all other lordships and clergymen to retain their incomes as long as they lived, but he would not have others appointed to be paid by the nation [cheers]. He would have the benefices and tithes then sold to the highest bidder [cheers]. If the earth should be ruined, if the heavens should fall, still let them carry out their principle, and leave consequences to God. The Church of God, from the day it came on the breast of state support, and sucked the milk of national revenue, became gradually more puny, degraded, and inefficient. It was said, if you abolish the State Church, you will have infidel government. Nothing of the kind. He would have the Dean of Hereford, and all the clergy of his church, to look up to God, and not to Lord J. Russell. The affairs of God and of his religion could not be settled by reference to a court of law and musty acts of parliament; but they ought to be decided by reference to the Gospel. The Church might have bishops, deans, chapters, and as many orders of clergy as they thought fit, if they themselves would pay for them; and Nonconformists would not blame them, would not quarrel with them, for this. The Association did not want to interfere with these things; but sought to prove that the Church would be a better Church if it had not the Government for its master—if it need not fear the frown, or care for the smile, of a Prime Minister. The religion that was not paid for by the people, but which was paid for by others, could not be felt as any great good. Christianity will work its way, in Africa, in America, or any where else; but, bind it up in State swaddling bands, feed it with pap and pop in a State spoon, and it becomes puny and feeble, and ceases to work its way [cheers].

The Rev. J. PETERS, minister of the Wesleyan association, briefly seconded the motion.

Let the Church reject State support, and it might then be free. He had heard it said that this was not a fitting time to come out to agitate this matter; that they (the Nonconformists) should cut a ridiculous figure; whilst on the other side it was said, “Wait a little, and Churchmen themselves will do all that you want; they will, like Kilkeny cats, eat each other.” These opposite opinions justified this movement; and he contended that there never was a time when the Church more demanded the aid and sympathy of all to free her from her painful and oppressive connexion with the State [hear, hear]. He rejoiced in the crowded meeting, and in the advancement of this great question. They wished to get the public opinion, so rapidly ripening, embodied in the decisions of meetings such as that. Remove all legal hindrances from the man in the Establishment meeting him without the Establishment, and then a catholic spirit would pervade all denominations; and the Evangelical Alliance would then become a reality, instead of a beautiful theory. He, as an old Nonconformist, should be happy to do all he could for the separation of the Church from the State [loud cheers].

The Rev. C. STOVEL, of London, supported the motion in an able speech, for the report of which we are unable to find room.

The resolution was then put and carried against two dissentients. The result was hailed with loud applause.

Mr. FALVEY moved the second resolution, which ran thus:—

That this meeting would respectfully appeal to all conscientious Churchmen, whether the circumstances attending the recent appointment of Bishops in the Established Church are not a powerful and striking illustration of the folly and wickedness of any alliance between religion and the civil government, and earnestly call upon them for their support in this great movement of religious freedom.

The Rev. D. RHYS STEPHEN seconded the motion:—

He said he happened to be in a position to give the meeting a kind of episode on our ecclesiastical affairs, which would furnish them with some important illustrations of the working of the State-church principle of this country. The House of Commons, two years ago, on the motion of Mr. William Williams, then the member for Coventry, issued a commission of inquiry into the state of education in Wales. Three young men, barristers, were appointed, whose bags had never been filled with briefs, and who had next to no chamber practice at all. They were Englishmen, they knew nothing of the language, they were members of the Established Church, and were sent to a country peopled by Dissenters, for nine-tenths of the Welsh people were Dissenters [hear, hear]. Before the commission commenced its work, the committee of the normal school in South Wales, of which he was then one of the secretaries, presented a petition praying that one Welshman, and one Dissenter, might be appointed. But this petition was treated with contempt. They went, and they stated that they were well received by all classes, even by those who were opposed to Government education, who they acknowledged in their report were amongst the readiest and foremost to give them information. But they went to the then Bishop of Hereford, the present Archbishop of York, who, an Englishman, living in Hereford, knew nothing of the language or of the country; they went also to the Bishop of St. David's, who, however, as soon as he was appointed, learnt the language, and was now an able and accepted preacher in that language—[hear, hear]—but he knew nothing of the country. The commissioners also went to the clergy in a country where the people were Dissenters, and especially to the dignified clergy, to the pluralists, to the Englishmen who held and hold valuable livings in the country. These commissioners have represented, in the evidence contained in the three blue books, that the Dissenters in Wales were the most immoral, the most ignorant portion of the British dominions. Since the oldest man in that room was born, this was one of the most direct, impudent, and shameless aggressions made upon the church-state principle, upon the religious rights, upon the equal freedom of the British people. He did not make it a Welsh question, though a Welshman himself, but he brought it forward as an illustration of the principle, to oppose which that Association was formed—that at the public expense three commissioners were sent to a nation of Dissenters, knowing nothing of the language of the people, making these returns, and at this moment defending themselves at the public expense against the Dissenters' denial of the charges, in order to prove that Nonconformity had produced, as it were, the most flagrant immorality that exists there [shame, shame]. Shame! He thanked them, Saxons as they were, for saying so [applause].

The Rev. R. MORRIS proposed the third resolution:—That, since considerable funds are requisite to accomplish the purposes of this Association, and the co-operation of many is required effectually to raise these funds, cards be now circulated for the promise of contributions of the present year, and that a canvass be immediately commenced, in the carrying out of which the following gentlemen are earnestly requested to lend their aid:—Messrs. James Watts, W. Burd, jun., Thomas Roberts, Robert Rumney, John Fildes, and George Hadfield.

He said that no association, not even the League, had done more with the money at its disposal, than had this Association. Public meetings were only valuable as an extension of their influence; and he therefore commended the cause to the pecuniary support of the meeting.

Mr. ARCHIBALD PRENTICE, who was received with loud applause, seconded the motion. He referred the meeting to a fund which perhaps they had neglected. Some years ago a church rate existed, but the contest against it had done away with it, thus saving the town £4,200. There were, therefore, £25,000 fructifying in their pockets, the interest at least of which might be devoted to this cause [hear, hear]. He had been told that since “my Lord Bishop of Manchester” had taken his seat in an arm chair, called a throne, Dissenters would become so courteous and so yielding that they would readily pay a church rate, which would now be demanded. For himself, however, he would go to the Collegiate Church, and if he stood alone, oppose the imposition of such a rate. The better plan, however, was to go to the bottom of the evil, and abolish the principle of a State-church [cheers].

Mr. E. MIALL supported the resolution. When the loud cheering with which he was greeted on rising had subsided, he said—

He felt no delicacy in urging the meeting to do what they could. He was no paid advocate of the truths he loved [cheers]. He should feel it no disgrace to be such, but he was not such. He could at all times, with the most perfect truthfulness, declare, that in the labours which he had been able to give for the furtherance of this great object, he had rather lost than gained, given than received, and never had sought a single advantage through that means which might not have been open to every individual [cheers]. He would just refer to some of the consequences which he, and others who were working with him, anticipated as the result of the separation of the Church from the State. When they urged this question upon the serious attention of their fellow-countrymen they were often asked, “What is it at which you aim? You are simply pleading a great abstract truth. What are the practical benefits which will result to the nation at large, supposing you to attain the end you are seeking? If the Church and State could be severed to-morrow, what would be the influence, for good, upon the whole population?” Now, he would just put before them one or two thoughts which had influenced his mind in conducting this agitation, and which stirred up his desire for the ultimate effectuation of their purposes. He believed, then, that one great benefit which would be realized by England in consequence of the severance of the Church from the State, would be the breaking up of a political machinery which had been found to work in all past ages, and continued to work at the present time, unfavourably to the liberties of the country [cheers]. He believed that those who were at all acquainted with the history of Great Britain, and especially with the history of the past three centuries, would find and acknowledge, that on behalf of humanity struggling for the enlargement of its freedom, aiming to put down the tremendous obstacle that intelligence, and combination, and power could always bring against the simple but unaided right—that on behalf

of humanity thus engaged in working out its own ultimate enlargement, there had been no effectual aid at any time rendered by the Established Church [cheers]. He believed that, even in the present day, we should be more rapidly striding towards the realization of many of our political projects—projects which he believed to be founded in right and justice—if this great intervening obstacle had been removed. He believed that there would be a far more general yearning of the British heart after true freedom, supposing that this obstacle was entirely removed, than there is at the present time; and that that moral feeling which could reconcile itself to a state of something like serfdom or bondage, would soon yield to an earnest, active, and constantly developing desire to obtain as large a portion of individual liberty as could be consistent with social order [hear, hear]. But this was not the whole benefit which he expected from the breaking up of the whole system. There was a still larger one—a still more glorious one. He saw that system, however it might be developed, and in connexion with whatever creed, depressing the energies of intellect, and cramping and warping the decisions of human judgment not only upon political or ecclesiastical subjects, but upon all subjects—enervating the very powers of the mind, by forbidding those powers to exercise themselves fairly upon the sublimest topics which could come under the review of men. He thought that the day which destroyed the ties binding the Church to the State, and which, consequently, put down legislative authority in the realms of mind and intellect, would at the same time remove an immense mass of prejudice that now weighs upon the feelings and intellect of a very large portion of our nation. He believed, moreover, that a great benefit would arise to us from this change, by simply awakening to a sense of responsibility the conscience which was now comparatively insensible to the claims of our fellow-countrymen [hear, hear]. We were often pointed to the failure of the voluntary principle in connexion with true religion. If the voluntary principle had failed, it was almost exclusively upon this account—because that sense of responsibility which Christians ought ever to cherish towards those who were round about them had been lulled to sleep by the opiate of the State-church principle. He contended that it was just because we had been thus accustomed to rest upon the State for the performance of duties which belonged to us socially and individually [hear, hear] that our conscience had been gradually benumbed—because it had not always been in exercise [hear, hear]; and that, if we were to go back to that state of semi-infidelity or heathenism which was often predicted as the consequence of this separation, we had far better go back than continue in the unsound and morally insensible state in which we now exist [cheers]. Let but the religion of this country see the worst of the case; let but that which was evil amongst our countrymen come out and show itself; let but those who honour the name of Christ be told that, unless they put their shoulders to the wheel, and nerved their arms for this great moral and spiritual conflict, all Christianity must needs be lost in this land, and men of all denominations and all parties would instantly come together, and ask with earnestness and zeal, “What shall be done that this great calamity may be staved off from our nation?” He did not know that there was any one feature of our present ecclesiastical and religious condition which was more mournful in its character than this, that all religionists seemed as though the great mass of the people were not committed to their charge. Nobody took to themselves the shame and reproach that large bodies of our countrymen were growing up without the ameliorating, the refining, the purifying influence of Christianity in their midst. The Government charged the voluntary principle with the failure—the Government well knowing that it had itself undertaken the work, and had failed to accomplish it [loud cheers]. Let but the Government give up its pretension; let us but know that the people of this realm for their Christianity were cast entirely upon the active benevolence of the good and true, and he believed that all the good and all the true would come forward and bind themselves in one holy brotherhood, to do their best to remove the reproach [cheers]. He need scarcely advert to the advantages which would arise to the church especially—he meant to those who really love the truth—from the one obstacle being taken out of the way which now prevented their sympathies from commingling, and their affections from intertwining one with another. He panted for the day when the causes of discord should be taken from their midst. But at the same time he could not believe that, whilst the relative position of the different orders, classes, denominations, was that of favouritism on the one hand and depression on the other, and whilst this was kept up by a species of legislative interference, he could not believe that there could be the cherishing of that true sympathy between the parties which Christianity would promote [loud cheers]. He never yet knew that, when the hand of one man was upon the throat of another, either party could love the other with much sincerity [great cheering]; and if the sermon, the address, the appeal for the cultivation of love and affection came from him who was actually inflicting the injury, then he thought that the word to be addressed to him by the suffering party might well be, “Withdraw your hand from my throat, and I shall love you all the better” [loud applause]. But if there was one object which he was seeking with all earnestness, one benefit which he hoped to realize from the severance of the Church from the State, greater than the others, it was that thereby they should take from the Christian religion, from its reputation among men, the great reproach and stain which had been hitherto cast upon her in the proceedings of this world. He felt that they could never go fairly amongst their fellow-countrymen, and proclaim to them the self-sacrificing and humiliating truths of the Gospel, with a hope of success, until they could point to Christianity throughout the whole of her developments, just as the apostle had pointed to himself, and said, “I covet no man's silver, nor gold, nor apparel.” He was perfectly sure that whilst individuals could point to scenes such as he had witnessed in the execution of the law for the support of the State Church, it was in vain that they insisted upon the purity, the refinement, the beauty, and the spirituality of the whole system. Practical, like Englishmen, they looked at what they regarded as the developments of that principle; and when they had seen it constantly interfering with their comforts, their enjoyments, and their true liberty, they identified this, which was simply the world's type of Christianity, with Christianity itself [hear, hear]. They rejected it as mere priestcraft, or, what was as bad, mere kingcraft—[cheers]—a scheme adopted by those in high places, in order that they might catch hold of the religious sentiments of the people, and work it to the furtherance of their own selfish designs. Now he longed to see Christianity delivered from this reproach. He believed that every conscientious Churchman, equally with himself, would rejoice in delivering that system or doctrine which he receives from the reproach and the stain which is thus visited upon him, and he called upon them for the truth's sake, as well as for the sake of their own liberty, to oppose, to unite with the Anti-state-church Association, in seeking the accomplishment of their great end—[applause]—they had many grounds of hope—they had a leverage to apply, which

did not fall within the reach of any previous agitation. In furtherance of this agitation they had a great movement which had gone before them. The League had instructed the great mass of the people in many principles which they can now apply to other questions [applause]. Once give to a practical nation an opportunity of seeing, and illustrating by experience, certain great principles of moral truth and justice which have been propounded to them, and be assured that you have identified the recognition of those principles, and a disposition to apply them [hear, hear]. The same great principle of the League against monopoly was involved [hear], and they who had taken such interest in a previous struggle, could not regard with indifference this struggle, under its present aspect. They had already thrown too much of their being and their hearts into the question, which must go on, and they (the association), taking advantage of that, might agitate the State Church question until it became as ripe for settlement as was the repeal of the corn-laws [cheering]. Then there was another ground of hope to be found in the new and somewhat repulsive aspect under which the statesmen are presenting the State Church principle to our minds. The Establishment was shifting its very basis—religion was not now supported by the State because it was the truth of God, but simply because it was regarded as expedient that the Government [a burst of applause here interrupted the speaker]—because it was expedient that the Government should use this instrumentality in order to produce that social order which was so much regarded. Hence they would perceive a tendency suddenly exhibited by our leading statesmen to endow all sects of religion—to pay the teachers of every denomination, in order that by getting hold of those who dealt most with the consciences of the people, they might be able to control their movements, and in some respects use them for the accomplishment of their own political purposes [applause]. Englishmen had outgrown the power of physical force. A soldier could no longer keep us in chains. They had learnt how, by a peaceable moral agitation, to break down the largest and most formidable power of antagonism, vested in physical force organization [hear, hear]. They could not fire upon an unopposing and defenceless populace. They could not drive new principles of political economy, or new views of great moral questions, into the hearts and consciences of the people by the bayonet. They saw it was absolutely necessary to use other influences than those which had failed them in olden times; and, consequently, they were earnestly desirous of getting, through the medium of religious teachers, access to the innermost thoughts and sentiments of the national mind, in order that they might thereby accomplish their purposes [applause]. And hence it was that they were so anxious to endow Roman Catholicism in Ireland [hear, hear]—that they might muffle a priesthood who, whatever might be laid to their charge, had this to glory in, that they have stood by and advocated the rights of the poor and the defenceless [hear]. The Ministry had been most anxious to catch hold thus of the great moral and spiritual power which moves in that unhappy country; and, without removing the grievances of the people, to remove from them the opportunity of giving expression to them [continued cheering]. They were under the necessity, therefore, of resorting to another kind of instrumentality than that which once failed them; but, happily, Providence had likewise brought them under the necessity of presenting an evil principle under an aspect abhorrent to the English mind. Something like majesty, spurious though it might be, in the House of Commons for Governmental forces for the establishment of the truth of God, might be seen; but here the object was simply to make religion an instrument for political and aristocratical, and often unjust purposes [hear, hear]; here it was obvious that, in order to carry their point, they must proclaim all those creeds to be alike a matter of indifference [hear]; here they would come forth legislatively, and proclaim to a people deeply imbued with reverence for Christianity—would proclaim to them all that faith was a mere fiction, and that there was nothing sacred whatever in truth [hear]. It was not a question of one creed or another creed, or one kind of ecclesiastical discipline or another, but it was a question whether religion was to be represented through the medium of the law, as a mere handle and sham for those who held the higher places, to work out the accomplishment of their own selfish results. All men who had consciences and hearts would be compelled, ere long, to unite in saying to the Government, "Religion is too sacred for your touch; just confine yourself to your own proper business" [applause]. There was an increasing interest already taken in this question, not only by Churchmen, but also by Dissenters. There was a day not long distant when they used to regard the question as a purely abstract question, and the political and practical grievances of the Dissenters were placed before it. They agitated for themselves, for their own civil position, for their deliverance from annoyances to which they were exposed; and, as they agitated for something selfish, their agitation never rose up to any thing like generous enthusiasm. They had now taken a line far more honourable; to do battle for the truth rather than to do battle for their own position [cheers]. They had looked at great principles till they had left something like a photographic picture of themselves on their hearts. But why did he speak of the Churchmen and Dissenters only? There was a large section of men—working men of our country—who could neither be denominated Episcopalians nor Nonconformists—men who, unhappily, according to his opinion, could be best characterised by the name of ab-senters [laughter]. Well, he believed that those men were beginning to show that they had an interest in the question; that they began to feel that the wealth which flows through those channels into the possession of the aristocracy of the land, comes from their toil, and must be considered before self sacrifice. He believed they had looked at this question as a question of right, of common sense, and of British justice; that they were deeply interested in the settlement of it if it were only in order that they themselves might receive something like justice from the Government [applause]. Mr. Miall then referred to the bill for the removal of Jewish disabilities, to which he wished success with all his heart, and, stating how religious questions were involved in many questions continually arising, adverted to the fact of Lord John Russell having brought in the bill for the purpose of securing his seat. The people here got rid of their great monopoly, the monopoly which pressed upon their commercial interests, first by the instruction of the people in the principles of commercial freedom, and then in consequence of the providential interposition in so small a circumstance as the rot of the potato; and who knew but we should have some ecclesiastical potato rot—[loud laughter and protracted cheering]—a potato rot which would most assuredly answer the purpose, so soon as the public mind was sufficiently enlightened. Until that had been accomplished, and their work done, they had no right to suppose that Providence would step in. The times were only to be ripened by agitation, and that agitation had been carried on by the London Association to the utmost extent of its means and ability. He hoped, however, that henceforth they should receive a

larger and more general support, and that Manchester would take up the cause with that characteristic spirit, energy, and liberality for which it was remarkable [loud cheers].

The Rev. Wm. McKERROW, in a brief speech, moved a vote of thanks to the London deputation. This was seconded by Mr. WELLS, and carried amidst hearty cheering.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman was then passed, and the meeting terminated at twenty minutes to eleven.

MEETING AT SHEFFIELD.

Last Wednesday evening a public meeting was held in the Cutlers'-hall, Sheffield, in connexion with the British Anti-state-church Association, when Mr. Edward Miall, the Rev. Charles Stovel, of London, and Mr. Carvell Williams, attended as a deputation to explain the objects contemplated by the Association. Notwithstanding the extreme unfavourableness of the weather, there was a respectable and overflowing audience. On the motion of the Rev. T. HORSFIELD, seconded by Mr. EBENEZER SMITH, Mr. J. W. Smith was elected to occupy the chair.

The meeting is reported at considerable length both in the *Sheffield Independent* and *Iris*, but the space occupied by the other reports prevents us from giving more than an outline of the proceedings.

The Rev. THOMAS HORSFIELD moved, and Mr. J. C. WILLIAMS seconded, the first resolution:—

That it is the deliberate conviction of this meeting that the employment of the power and resources of civil government for the support of religion is contrary to Scripture, unfriendly to the spread of truth, and inimical to the liberties of mankind.

The Rev. C. STOVEL, in the course of an able speech, made a graceful reference to Mr. Montgomery, the poet, "who had improved and exalted his country." Many said it was no use to touch this matter, or engage in an undertaking of this kind. But if it could be proved that no result would follow, he would still be required to follow it from duty to that God whom he trusted and served. It was an axiom long sustained, that duty is ours and results belong to God. But was not past success sufficient encouragement for future efforts? The time was when the utterance of sentiments like these would have brought down a legal prosecution; and when the great gem of Sheffield (Mr. Montgomery) was seen shining and glittering through the bars of York gaol [applause]. It might have been said to him, "Why are you striving for the great principle of man's rights?" and he might have answered, "I am casting my bread upon the waters." Mr. Stovel concluded by calling upon the men of Sheffield to arise and exert themselves in that great and good cause. The resolution he moved was as follows:—

That this meeting, believing the union of the Church with the State in this country to be productive of innumerable evils, expresses its earnest desire that the efforts now being put forth by the British Anti-state-church Association may result in the early accomplishment of the great spirit of its formation.

Mr. E. MIALL was received with hearty applause, and in seconding the resolution addressed the meeting at considerable length. He concluded by an appeal to the Church of England to assert her freedom.

Let the Church be free—and that church which is now even afraid to stretch forth her pinions lest she should fall to the ground, will instantly soar up a beautiful and gorgeous object into the heavens, so as to surprise her own children with her majestic spirit and glory, and, as when the Free Church of Scotland astounded the world by the faith and energy of the voluntary principle when once she had come forth from her contact with State ecclesiasticism, she would even now spurn the chains by which she has so long been held, and go forth casting aside the mere golden bonds of this world as unworthy of her notice, and she would declare, "I am a Queen, and I am free!" I say, that the Church will then advance with a power, and expansiveness, and success on the voluntary principle, and secure an influence and grasp over the minds of millions which she has never been able to exert in the state of her bondage to the world [applause]. Don't fear us, brethren of the Church! We are your best friends [loud cheers]. We are your best friends—though perhaps you may smile scornfully at the profession we make. But surely, after that revelation of your degrading slavery which we have recently had, surely you who have felt the foot of the Prime Minister trampling upon your neck, surely you of all others ought to be grateful to us for taking that Prime Minister,—metaphorically speaking,—by the throat, and saying to him, "Go about your own business, and let this Church go free!" [loud and enthusiastic applause].

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

Mr. WILLIAMS then announced that any one who wished to register himself as a member of the Association might do so, and receive one of their cards. Votes of thanks were then passed to the deputation and to the chairman, and the meeting terminated soon after ten o'clock.

ANTI-STATE-CHURCH ASSOCIATION.—We understand that the Rev. John Burnet, of London, a deputation from the British Anti-state-church Association, will attend a public meeting in the Music-hall, Leeds, on Tuesday, the 29th instant. The local committee are making arrangements for other popular speakers to attend, of which we shall be enabled to give full notice in the course of a few days.—*Leeds Times*.

NEW STATE-CHURCH IN AUSTRALIA.—Our distant dependency furnishes another example of the eagerness of our rulers to introduce the ecclesiastical system into the colonies which, at home, is being denounced by all parties. The following is an

ABSTRACT OF AN ORDINANCE ABOUT TO BE INTRODUCED BY THE GOVERNOR INTO THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA. JULY 7TH, 1847.

To promote the building of churches and places of worship, and to provide for the maintenance of ministers of religion.

PREAMBLE.

Regulating the issue of public money in aid of the erection of churches and ministers' dwellings. Proviso: Limiting the amount.

Ministers' Stipends: Ministers' stipends in cases where there are not 100 adults.

As to Increase of Stipends: Ministers' stipends where there is no church or chapel. Proviso: Proof of due performance of duties.

Trustees to be appointed.

Mode of Appointing Original Trustees: Trustees to be members of the Church of England, or persuasion, &c.;

trustees disqualified by absence, or otherwise, to be removed.

Mode of Electing a New Trustee: In default of trustees, subscribers, or pewholders, to convene meeting for election. Free seats and minister's pew; remaining sittings to be let; votes of seatholders; minister's right to occupation of dwelling-house and glebe; trustees may accept lands; places of worship and ministers' dwellings to be inalienable; bishop may be nominated sole trustee for churches, &c., of the United Church of England and Ireland. Proviso: Saving all existing trusts and rights; model deeds to be enrolled.

The project is likely to encounter vigorous opposition from the people, seven-tenths of whom are opposed to it.

DEATH OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

The death of the venerable Archbishop of Canterbury, expected for some days past, took place at a quarter past two o'clock on Friday morning. The Archbishop had been attacked by influenza about eight weeks since, and had never quite rallied. He was in full possession of his faculties nearly to his last hour. His wife, and his daughter, Mrs. W. Kingsmill, were with him through his sickness, and were present at his death.

William Howley, the only son of the Reverend William Howley, D.D., Vicar of Bishop's Tatton and Ropley, Hants, was born on the 12th February, 1765. He was educated at Winchester School, and at Oxford, and became tutor at the University to the Prince of Orange, now King of Holland. He was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity at his University in 1809; Bishop of London in 1813, in succession to Dr. John Randolph; and in 1828 the Duke of Wellington elevated him to the Primacy of all England, in succession to Dr. Manners Sutton. He had been a member of Privy Council since 1813.

Dr. Howley was much beloved for his amiable nature and respected for his piety; he never rendered himself remarkable by great attainments; interfered in political affairs least of all the Bishops; and seldom addressed the House of Lords at any length. He opposed Catholic emancipation, the Reform Bill, and the Government education measure introduced by Lord Melbourne in 1839.

At Lambeth he has rebuilt the greater portion of the ancient palace, restored the beautiful chapel, and enriched the valuable library. He was a munificent benefactor to the various religious and charitable institutions.

THE AVENGER.—COURT-MARTIAL ON LIEUTENANT ROOKE.—A Court-martial assembled on the 31st of January, on board the "Trafalgar," to try Lieutenant Rooke, and the survivors of the "Avenger," for the loss of that ship on the Sorelle rocks, off Galita, on the night of the 20th December, 1847. The Court lasted two days. The prisoners were honourably acquitted; and Lieutenant Rooke was highly complimented by the Court for his skill and gallantry in reaching the shore in a small boat, and saving even four lives. A question was put to Lieutenant Rooke, "Whether the 'Avenger' had any Mediterranean charts on board?" He replied, "He did not know!" It is a well-known fact, that although the charts are public property, and intended for the use of all the officers of the ships of war, yet in many vessels no persons but the captain and master ever see them; thus the vessel is left to the infallibility of two individuals, and meets with some catastrophe, which, had the charts been open for the use of the lieutenants, mates, and second masters, would probably have been avoided.

AMATEUR SOLDIERING.—We are informed that a number of gentlemen in London have resolved to form themselves into a regiment, to be termed "The Queen's Own Volunteer Rifle Corps." The number at present proposed is 600; but probably it will be materially increased after it is fully known to the public. The parties who have taken the lead in this movement have received every encouragement from the Government, and will have their arms and ammunition supplied them. The uniform will be dark green, with black braiding, bronze ornaments, and a light cap. A commanding officer has been appointed and approved of, and the captains of companies and subalterns will be chosen by the gentlemen forming the corps. The *Naval and Military Gazette* announces a report that a second volunteer corps is in the course of formation.—*Daily News*.

AN EAGLE WAS SHOT NEAR RAMSGATE last week. The *Kentish Observer* says:—"It belongs to the fishing species. It measures seven feet across the wings, and is a remarkably fine and powerful bird. On being shot, Mr. Peake forced from its throat, which was very much distended, nearly two pounds of large eels; and it is supposed that it had gorged itself so much that it was careless of its safety, having been killed with a common charge of No. 4 shot."

LEAGUE OF BROTHERHOOD.—A meeting of the "Stepney and Mile-End Branch of the League of Universal Brotherhood," was held in the Brunswick Chapel School-room, on Thursday evening last. Mr. J. B. Talbot, minister of the chapel, occupied the chair. Mr. Elihu Burritt was expected, but was prevented by illness from being present; his absence, however, was in some degree compensated for by the presence of Mr. D. W. Bartlett, who has lately come to England to assist him in his labours, and who on this occasion delivered a telling address. A fraternal address to the Leaguers of North Brookfield, Massachusetts, was proposed by Mr. Washington Wilks, by a speech in which he ably advocated the rights of the oppressed, both in this and other lands; and in which he showed that the best security against foreign invasion would be the disbanding of our army and navy, so proving that we could look upon and meet other nations as friends, and not be always regarding them with an eye of suspicion, as our natural enemies. Able addresses were also delivered by the Chairman and other gentlemen, showing the unchristian character of all war, and expressing feelings of good-will to all mankind, in which the meeting fully sympathized.

NATIONAL ALLIANCE.

A public meeting, numerously attended, was held at Greenwich, on Wednesday last, by the Alliance, on the subject of the national defences. John Wade, Esq., in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN opened the meeting with a very pertinent speech, and argued at considerable length against any augmentation of the forces, and against the additional burdens that would necessarily be laid on the country to sustain them.

Mr. PASSMORE EDWARDS moved the first resolution, in a speech which was well received by the audience:—

That this meeting is of opinion that war is destructive of the moral character, liberty, and happiness of men and nations—that it has its origin in the follies, vices, and interests of Courts, rather than in a desire to promote the welfare of the people, and that the true defences of a nation are, justice in all its relations, both at home and abroad, intercommunication and interchange of mutual benefits, through commerce, progress in the arts of peace and good neighbourhood, and not in preparations for hostility and destruction.

Mr. D. BASS seconded the resolution.

Mr. ROBERT SMITH next addressed the meeting at great length, demonstrating the injustice and impolicy of warlike preparations in the present state of the world, and denouncing war as inhuman and unchristian; and concluded by moving the second resolution, which was seconded by Mr. HARDING; viz,—

That we have, for years past, viewed with regret the increase of the army and navy in the time of peace, when the distresses of the people called for retrenchment more especially in this branch of the expenditure—that this meeting condemns in the strongest possible manner the attempts which have been made to excite fears of invasion amongst the people, and feels called on to resist in every legal way the present proposed increase, as fitted only to beget corruption and misgovernment at home, and discord and war abroad.

Mr. ROBERT LOWERY moved the next resolution. He created great merriment in the audience by remarking, that it was the most natural thing in the world for our rulers to try to stir up a war. We might see something like it every day in the streets, by observing the proceedings of a common pickpocket. He did not attempt to rob any one when everything was quiet. If he meant to ply his vocation, his first business was to kick up a row, and in the midst of the hubbub he had created to free some gentlemen of the contents of their pockets. So it is when Governments want to pick the pockets of the people—they first kick up a row, that their object may not be perceived.

This resolution was seconded by a gentleman whose name we could not catch, and is as follows:—

Therefore, this meeting calls for peace, retrenchment and reform, being of opinion that the lives, liberties, and properties of the people, never will be secured, except by equal laws and just government—nor until every man of sane mind, unconvicted of crime, has a voice in the election of members of Parliament; and this meeting pledges itself to aid by all peaceful and legal means the efforts of the National Alliance to procure a full and fair representation of the people in Parliament; and further, that the sentiments expressed in this and the previous resolutions be embodied in a petition to the legislature, to be signed by the Chairman on behalf of the meeting.

All the resolutions were passed unanimously, and the petition signed by the Chairman in order to be forwarded for presentation.

THE PUBLIC HEALTH.—We take the following very interesting summary from the last quarterly return of the Registrar-General:—The quarterly returns are obtained from 117 districts, subdivided into 582 sub-districts. 36 districts are in the metropolis, and the remaining 81 comprise, with some agricultural districts, the principal towns and cities of England. 57,925 deaths were registered in the last quarter. The average number of deaths deduced from the returns of the corresponding quarter of nine preceding years, and corrected for increase of population, is 46,549. There is consequently an excess of 11,376 deaths in the quarter. The deaths registered in the December quarters of 1845, 1846, and 1847, are 39,291, 53,093, 57,925; the mortality in the first is to that of the last quarter nearly as two to three. The mortality was below the average in the autumn quarters of the five years 1841-5, and above the average in the five years 1838-40, 1846-7.

GREENWICH TIME.—About eleven o'clock on Saturday se'nnight the public clocks of Edinburgh, according to previous arrangement, were advanced from local to Greenwich time—a difference of twelve minutes and a half. The change to Greenwich time has been also adopted in Glasgow, Greenock, Stirling, Perth, &c., and we have no doubt will be so in all the principal towns in the United Kingdom.—*Edinburgh Advertiser.*

ADDRESS OF THE INHABITANTS OF EXETER TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE.—The *Débats* publishes the address, voted at a public meeting of the inhabitants of Exeter, to the people of Paris and French citizens generally, in favour of the maintenance of peace between England and France. We extract the following passages of this address:—

Several reasons invite the two nations, united by so many interests, and near to each other by their geographical position, to live in peace. By maintaining pacific relations we can exercise a beneficial influence on commerce, civilization, the arts, the taste, and the government of each country; but when the demon of war once becomes unchained, trade is in stagnation, civilization retires, the arts and sciences languish, and, in consequence of the paralyzed resources and the heavy charges which war necessarily drags after it, the prosperity of the two nations is arrested in its progress. The fatal consequences of war can never be known in all their extent, but we know enough of its horrors to consider it one of the greatest calamities which can afflict humankind; it inflicts innumerable sufferings on thousands of innocent victims; it favours crime and injustice; it engenders oppression and cruelty; it wounds the heart in its affections; it deluges the land with the tears of widows and orphans; and it greatly retards the progress of virtue, and of the religion of the Prince of Peace.

The address is accompanied by the following letter from Dr. Bowring, M.P.:—

I am charged by the inhabitants of my native city, Exeter, in public meeting assembled, to convey to the citizens of France, and the French capital especially, this address; and I deem it a great honour to be the organ of their friendly sentiments. I have nothing more at heart than the establishment of the most amicable and intimate relations between France and Great Britain. Upon a good understanding with each other the peace and happiness of Europe and the world depend. To disseminate thoughts of distrust and hatred is the mission only of common enemies; and I trust and believe that unholy object will be thwarted by the strong voice of public opinion, early and energetically expressed.

I have the honour, &c.
(Signed) JOHN BOWRING.

IRELAND.

DENUNCIATIONS FROM THE ALTAR.—Dr. Kennedy, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Killaloe, has been called on to deal with a case of denunciation from the altar by one of his clergy—the Rev. Mr. Nolan, P.P., Monsea. An ejection had been, in carrying out the instructions of the courts of law in Dublin, nailed to the door of the chapel of Mr. Nolan's parish. This was done because resistance to service in the ordinary way was deemed dangerous. Mr. Nolan denounced the bailiff who posted the process and the policeman by whom he was accompanied, on the ensuing Sunday, from the altar. The language was reported. Mr. Nolan's bishop was appealed to, who appointed Thursday last to investigate the case. On that day, the Rev. Mr. Nolan having arrived in Nenagh, "submitted," says the local paper, and acknowledged he had used the language attributed to him.

THE "UNITED IRISHMAN."—The first number of the organ of the war party made its appearance on Saturday; and, to do Mr. Mitchell justice, is quite up to the mark of the most devoted disciple of bloodshed and blunderbusses. Among the contributors to the war-journal is the celebrated Father Kenyon, of Templeberry.

REPRESENTATION OF THE DUBLIN UNIVERSITY.—Judge Keatinge and Mr. Kyle have retired from canvassing the electors of the University. No candidate remains save Mr. Napier.

THE POOR-LAW.—The Skibbereen guardians are doing their duty fairly by the poor, and ministering the law according to its intent and spirit. Within three months between eight and nine hundred persons have been brought before the magistrates under the Vagrancy Act. Last year has touched the poor with a strong prejudice against the workhouse. In Killarney the guardians have substituted money for the food rations to the out-relief paupers, at the rate of fourteen pence per stone of meal. The auditor has approved of the change.

THE COMMISSIONERS OF FISHERIES have issued a notice to the landed proprietors of the south-west of Cork, to meet them at an early day at Clonakilty. The object is to enlist them in some practical scheme of reviving the deep sea fishing along that coast.

EXECUTIONS.

Two of the wretched men, the notorious Ryan (Puck) and Andrew Dea, convicted of murder at the Limerick Special Commission, suffered the extreme penalty of the law in front of the county goal on Monday week. The *Nenagh Guardian* gives the following account of the executions:—A large concourse of persons were at the awful scene long before the hour at which the prisoners appeared on the scaffold of death, many of whom attended to take a last look at Ryan (Puck). A troop of Dragoons and a guard of the military were stationed opposite the scene. When the convicts, who were bound in the usual manner, and accompanied by their clergy, made their appearance on the scaffold, a breathless silence pervaded the crowd. The convicts came forward with a firm step: they spoke not a word. They seemed to have been truly penitent, and resigned to their doom. After a short time spent in prayer, the hangman drew the fatal bolt, when they were launched into eternity. Ryan, who was a powerful man, struggled with death for upwards of seven minutes, during which time the clergyman stood on the scaffold praying over him. Dea made no struggle, for in two minutes after the drop fell life was extinct. *It was truly awful to behold the plunging of Ryan.* The scene was enough to chill the blood and paralyze the nerves of the stoutest. The wretched culprits made a full confession of their guilt, and acknowledged the justice of their sentences. Dea declared that he had no accomplice in the murder—that neither his brother nor any other person assisted in it. In his declaration, Ryan ascribes all his crimes to the neglect of his religious duties, and he solemnly avers, that during his life he never received one farthing for anything except what he earned as a labourer by the sweat of his brow; meaning thereby, that he never handled "blood-money."

On the 11th another of the wretched murderers, John Renchan, convicted at the Limerick Special Commission, underwent the extreme penalty of the law in front of the county goal. The unhappy man made no declaration of his guilt or innocence; but, from the day of his conviction, gave himself up to prayer and repentance, and went to meet his ignominious end with perfect resignation. He died almost without a struggle. There were never so few persons at an execution in Limerick. The cars could pass with ease, and it was not necessary to have military or police in front of the goal. The *Limerick Reporter* says the clothes of Ryan (Puck) have been, or are about being, purchased from the hangman for Madame Tussaud, to whom is also to be forwarded a cast of his head, and his blunderbuss.

MEETING OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CLERGY.—The *Evening Post* gives an account of a conference of the clergy of the diocese of Dublin, on Tuesday week, when the Most Rev. Dr. Murray introduced the subject of the letter from the Propaganda. His Grace then adverted to clerical interference in politics, observing that hitherto he had recommended non-interference merely by his own example. Such non-interference had now an additional sanction from the present communication from the Holy See. He expected that this injunction from the Holy Father would be strictly attended to.

LEAGUE OF UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD.—On Tuesday evening, February 8th, Mr. Elihu Burritt advocated the principles of the above League, to a large and respectable audience, in George-street chapel, Ryde, I.W. On the following morning a public breakfast was given to Mr. Burritt, when a fraternal address to the inhabitants of Cherbourg, in France, was resolved on, which is now in course of signature.

The opponents of Mr. Heald's election have abandoned their opposition.—*Watchman.*

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.—THE NAVIGATION LAWS, NATIONAL DEFENCES, &c.—From the fuss made in London by two or three assumed delegates from these parts, it would be surmised that the people here were up in arms in the maintenance of the wicked, foolish, and mischievous navigation laws. It is quite the opposite. The three gentlemen who have taken active proceedings in the East-end meetings, and who headed the procession by water the other day, individually, have not a farthing's interest in shipping, and are men whom the working class of the north have no confidence in, and never had. The friends and supporters of these laws had a public meeting in South Shields some short while ago, when just five and twenty gentlemen composed the meeting. Last week a public meeting of the inhabitants of Sunderland was called to have the question discussed: the advocates for and against the laws were invited. Not one of the defenders came; those for their abolition did, and resolutions, with only three dissentient voices, were passed, affirming that those laws were bad, and ought to be abolished. As will be seen, we had a large and influential town meeting last week, to take into consideration the question of national defences, and to discuss whether it were wise to have an increase or decrease of our war establishments. The meeting was in the Guildhall, and the chair was occupied by the Mayor, Stephen Lowrey, Esq. The meeting was composed of men of all grades of politics and conditions. Resolutions, stating the astonishment of the meeting at the announcement of an increase of our war establishments in a time of perfect peace, and resolving that a petition, based upon that opinion, and desiring the Imperial Parliament to appoint a committee to inquire into the state of our war establishments before the supplies are passed—and which committee would find that there would be a necessity of a decrease rather than an increase—be drawn out, signed by the mayor, and presented to the House of Commons by the senior member for the borough, were unanimously passed. On Tuesday evening (last evening) a meeting of the working classes would be held in the Lecture-room, to whom would be submitted a pacific address to the people of France. A town's meeting has been held in Darlington, in which resolutions, affirming a pacific policy, were unanimously passed. *En passant*, our friends here are delighted with the address of the committee formed for the increase of the circulation of the *Nonconformist*, and will do all they can to second their noble efforts.—*From our Correspondent.*

A SERVANT GIRL at Birmingham was suffocated a few days since, by a piece of tripe an inch and three-quarters square, which she endeavoured to swallow while carrying down stairs the remains of a lodger's supper.

PREFERMENT.—The Rev. W. L. Girardot to the perpetual curacy of Hinton-charterhouse, vacant by the resignation of the Rev. Thomas Spencer.

DISGUSTING EXHIBITION.—A remarkable instance of the depraved curiosity of a numerous class of persons has just occurred in Leeds. An enterprising showman, named Andrew Purchase, on the day of the execution of Patrick Reid, for the Mirfield murders, bought from the hangman the clothes of the unfortunate culprit, and the rope by which he was strangled. To Purchase's exhibition a new attraction was speedily added, in a full-length likeness of Reid, attired in the very apparel in which he was executed, together with the fatal rope. The desired effect was produced: thousands of persons of morbid sensibility and depraved taste flocked to the exhibition in such crowds as often to incommode the free passage along the streets. At this rate the enterprise went on until a few days back, when some suspicion as to the genuineness of the disgusting spectacle, gave a temporary check to its success. But on Tuesday last, a new feature gave another impulse in the former direction—namely, the hangman of Reid, Nathaniel Howard, who was present at the exhibition in *propria persona*, express from York, displaying the mode of managing his horrible profession; deposing to every new audience to the veritability of Reid's clothing; and actually, by experiments with the rope and the waxen figure, showing the causes which made the noose partially ineffectual at the execution, and attributing the slipping of the rope to the "culprit's curiosity in turning round, and to the rope being frozen stiff!" Surely this must be the climax of everything revolting to the better feelings of humanity!—*Leeds Mercury.*

THE QUEEN AND THE PARROT.—The following morsel of gossip appears in the *Bristol Mercury*, of Saturday:—"A noted bird-fancier, living in the neighbourhood of the Great Western terminus in Bristol, lately reared a parrot of uncommon beauty, and moreover of a disposition to talk. Poll was duly instructed, and, as will be seen in the sequel, in time more than repaid her tutor for the pains he had taken. Her teacher was so much pleased with Poll's progress that he determined to present her at court, and she was accordingly started upon the journey. Poll, upon her arrival, was somewhat abashed at the new scenes of splendour in which she found herself, and exhibited an unwonted uncouthness, and would not speak to any one. At length, however, she was introduced to the Queen, who, struck with the beautiful plumage and fine symmetry of the newly-arrived guest, entered with great condescension into conversation with her. Poll's shyness wore off, and before the Queen left her she said, 'If you don't send twenty pounds I'll go back.' The Queen inquired to whom she was indebted for this new acquisition to her aviary, ascertained the circumstances connected with the affair, and gave orders for the transmission of £20 to the rearer of Poll, who accordingly was paid that sum a few days since at the West of England Bank in this city—an inducement to all teachers to impart profitable instruction to their pupils."

DR. LEGGE AND HIS CHINESE CONVERTS.—On Wednesday, the 10th instant, on his departure for China, the Rev. Dr. Legge, with his three Chinese converts, who have excited so much interest in this country, had the honour of an interview with her Majesty and Prince Albert, at Buckingham Palace, introduced by the Right Hon. Lord Morpeth. Our beloved missionary, and his interesting charge, were treated with great kindness and condescension, both by the Queen and his Royal Highness.—*Patriot.*

WHITTINGTON CLUB.—This Institution has recently been increasing its attractiveness and utility. Several of the most ardent of its members have succeeded in establishing several valuable classes in connexion with it. Besides the French, Italian, and German classes, there are Discussion and Elocution classes in connexion with both the West-end and City branches. On Tuesday evening, the 9th instant, the intricate question of the currency was discussed at the Discussion class of the City branch. It was ably proposed by Mr. Cowan. Mr. Passmore Edwards presided over the proceedings. On Saturday last, the 11th, a very large meeting of the members attended the Elocution class at the West-end branch, when Messrs. Staples, Hurstone, Wicks, and Gardner, delivered some excellent recitations. The last two gentlemen especially gained the unanimous applause of the meeting. Mr. Passmore Edwards, who was in the chair, said at the conclusion, that he had to congratulate the gentlemen that so many ladies were present; that he congratulated both the ladies and gentlemen on the admirable recitations they had listened to, and the judicious criticisms that had been made on them; and he congratulated the Whittington Club on its having such efficient classes as the one of which they had a specimen on that occasion.—*From a Correspondent.*

A MAN IN HIS HUNDRED AND FOURTH YEAR has been fined at Salford for having been found drunk. The hoary toper is said to be an outpensioner of Chelsea Hospital.

THE WINDOW DUTIES.—On Thursday, the Chancellor of the Exchequer received a deputation from the metropolitan parishes, accompanied by Lord Duncan and other members, who urged on him the necessity of including the repeal of the Window-tax in the financial scheme of the year. The Chancellor several times asked different members of the deputation what substitute did they propose for the tax on its removal? Sir Benjamin Hall alone ventured a suggestion; he proposed a property-tax on Ireland. The Chancellor said, he would be thankful indeed to obtain such an assistance, and would carefully consider the statement made by the deputation. Lord Duncan expressed his determination not to give way with his motion this session, and to oppose the passing of the sanitary measure without a repeal of the window-tax.

THE WELSH NORMAL SCHOOL.—The Swansea Agency Committee met on Wednesday. There were gentlemen present from Llanelly, Neath, and Haverfordwest. The proceedings were characterised by energy, wisdom, and determination of purpose. Union and co-operation were blended with the strictest observance of the inviolability of the voluntary principle. We may with confidence say that the cause of the Normal School is safe. Every county in South Wales is to be visited by influential ministers of different denominations as soon as arrangements can be made. An agent is about to be appointed. Several school committees (Llanelly and St. Clears, for instance) have actually refused to accept Government aid, after having once applied for it. We believe the great majority of the Dissenters of Wales are decidedly opposed to the reception of Government aid for education.—*Principality.*

THE WELSH EDUCATION REPORTS.—PROGRESS OF THE AGITATION.—We are at a loss where to commence our summary. Our advertising columns of this day contain no less than four advertisements passed at conferences and public meetings, condemnatory of the Reports. The meeting at Brynmawr was a splendid one. The venerable Aschdeacon of Llandaff (Rev. T. Williams) has published another masterly refutation of Mr. Symon's assertion that education is decreasing in Monmouthshire. Mr. Symons has attempted a reply, but does not substantiate his proposition. Mr. Symons must find himself in an uncomfortable dilemma, having an Archdeacon on the one hand, and a Baines on the other. Surely he is to be pitied. In North Wales matters are still more exciting. The *North Wales Chronicle* has spoken out in unmistakable language. His opinion will be found in another column. The *Carnarvon Herald* and his correspondents keep up a most furious cannonade, which does not seem likely soon to abate.—*Principality.*

MR. HULLAH AND HIS PUPILS.—On Thursday evening Handel's oratorio, "Judas Maccabeus," was performed at Exeter-hall—the choruses, as on previous occasions, being sung by the members of Mr. Hullah's Upper School. The hall was crowded; and although the oratorio lasted to a late hour, the performance appeared to give unmingled satisfaction. Mr. Hullah and his band of well-trained vocalists will prove formidable competitors to the Sacred Harmonic Society. There is, however, abundant room for both in their separate spheres, inasmuch as the former provides a refined enjoyment to hundreds who could not afford to attend the oratorios of its more pretentious rival. For one shilling the public are enabled to make acquaintance with the sublime productions of the first musical masters; while in London alone hundreds are, by this system, being instructed in the elements of musical knowledge. Mr. Hullah has lived down envy and malevolence, and can safely point to these performances at Exeter-hall as a specimen of what his system of instruction is able to accomplish. The great novelty of the evening was Mr. S. Reeves, who more than fulfilled the expectations that had been formed of him. On the whole, we thought the choruses performed their part with greater precision and expression than the solo-singers.

THE ORPHAN WORKING-SCHOOL.—We beg to call the particular attention of our friends to an advertisement which appears in the present paper, from which it will be seen, that the committee of this venerable charity, which is worthy of Protestant Dissenters, have determined to admit Fifty Children into the new school at Haverstock-hill, in 1848. Encouraged by the liberal support of the public, it wants no Government grant. It is to be hoped that, every future year, at least that number will be elected.

THE FOURTH WEEK'S PSALMODY EXERCISES, which were concluded last Friday evening, surpassed all the former in attendance, execution, and interest. Mr. Waite, at the close of the Exercises, after a few remarks upon poetry, very ably illustrated the difference between rhythm, melody, and harmony. The fifth week, that is the last but one,

commenced with great spirit on Monday evening, at Spafford Chapel. There was a much larger attendance, as also at Dr. Burder's last evening, than we have yet seen. The improvement which the classes have made in one short month was manifest, not only in the facility with which they took the note, but also in the character of its expression. The lecturer and his audience appear to understand each other better—the one responding most enthusiastically to the sentiments of the other. They already regard themselves as "a band of Psalmody reformers." Six thousand intelligent, and apparently devout, persons—five-sixths of whom, we venture to assert, are heartily with the movement, the remaining one-sixth, at least, nodding assent—thrown off into various parts of the metropolis, talking, arguing, singing, and others something more earnest—is pretty well we think as a first detachment upon the quarters of the enemy. Other corps, equally large, are in course of formation. These are to follow the first; and thus, by a succession of attacks, there can be no doubt the city will be taken. We have not heard whether the allied armies intend to consummate their triumph by chanting the *Te Deum*. We have no doubt a visit to Craven to-night, or Surrey to-morrow night, would be a source of great pleasure. The aggregate meeting at Exeter Hall is announced for Monday week.

POSTSCRIPT.

Wednesday, February 16.

PARLIAMENTARY INTELLIGENCE.

CONSECRATION OF BISHOPS.—In the House of Lords last night the Bishop of Exeter presented a petition from certain clergymen in Buckinghamshire, praying for the repeal of that part of the statute of Henry VIII. which subjected deans and chapters, bishops and archbishops, in certain cases, to the pains and penalties of *præmunire*. After an interesting discussion, in which the Lord Chancellor, Lord Denman, Lord Campbell, and the Bishop of St. David's took part, and during which the Bishop of Exeter declared that his opinion was, that although the power of nomination should rest with the Crown, the two archbishops should, in their respective provinces, have the right to determine upon the fitness or unfitness of the party nominated for consecration, the petition was laid upon the table, and their lordships adjourned.

OUR WARLIKE ESTABLISHMENTS.—Yesterday, at the time of presenting petitions to the House of Commons, Colonel Thompson said:—"I have here a solid petition from the inhabitants of Bradford. The petitioners say they view with alarm anything tending to excite and maintain the warlike feeling in Europe; in fact, they do not want to kill their customers [cheers]. They therefore pray that this House will not sanction any increase of the naval and military expenditure; but, on the contrary, will take measures for a large and early retrenchment thereof [cheers]. Also a petition to the same effect from Shipley, which may be considered as almost a suburb of Bradford. The two petitions together have more than eight thousand signatures; so it looks as if the Yorkshiremen were pacifically disposed" [cheers.]

ITALIAN AFFAIRS.—Dr. Bowring moved for copies or extracts of correspondence on the subject of the Commercial League in Italy; his object in so doing being that the House and country might be fully informed as to the formation and extension of the said League. In the course of his reply, Lord Palmerston adverted to the general state of Italian affairs:—

He trusted that a brighter day was now dawning upon Italy. The confidence with which they might look for the regeneration of that country was chiefly founded upon the well-known vigour of the Italian character, and it was gratifying to find that the progress which was now being made in Italy was being brought about by the harmonious accord which existed between the people of Italy and their Sovereigns. It could not be doubted but that the position of Austria, in the midst of these events, was an embarrassing one; but it was a great satisfaction to him, as it would undoubtedly also be to the House and the country, to know that, so far as her Majesty's Government was informed of the intentions of the Cabinet of Vienna, there was no reason to apprehend that the policy of that Cabinet would be to meddle in any way whatever, by hostile interference, with the events which were now in progress in the independent states of Italy. It would be gratifying to the House to know, as a proof of the confidence with which England was looked to in Italy, that Lord Minto had proceeded from Rome to Naples, in consequence of a desire expressed by the Sicilians on the one hand, and by the Government of Naples on the other, that the friendly assistance of British diplomacy might be afforded towards the satisfactory settlement of the points of dispute between the parties. He begged the House to remember, that the Italian Commercial League was at present founded only on principle. Its details were still under the consideration of its component members; and, until these were settled, the publication of such confidential correspondence as the British Government was in possession of, in reference to the subject, might tend to defeat the purpose which they all wished to see accomplished.

Dr. Bowring then withdrew his motion.

LANDLORD AND TENANT (IRELAND) BILL.—Sir W. SOMERVILLE moved for leave to bring in a bill to amend the law of landlord and tenant in Ireland; and, in so doing, proceeded at once to state to the House the nature of the bill, the principles on which it was founded, and the machinery by which it was proposed to give effect to those principles. The provisions of the bill are of so involved a nature, that it would be impossible to give anything like a fair summary of them in the small space at our command in our present number. Suffice it to say, that the measure called forth general disapproval. Mr. S. CRAWFORD said that this bill would create a degree of dismay in some parts of Ireland of which he was sure that Sir W. Somerville had no idea. It would overthrow the tenant right of Ulster; and such a result would be attended with the most fatal consequences to that security which the tenantry in the north of Ireland had in their present holdings. The bill was read a first time.—Mr. PUSEY, also, introduced his Agricultural Tenant Right in England Bill; and Mr. S. O'BRIEN a bill for providing further facilities for the permanent improvement of landed property in Ireland.

LORD PALMERSTON announced that there were no longer any grounds on which this country could be called on to interfere in the affairs of Portugal.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

MEHEMET ALI, the Pacha of Egypt, continues in a very precarious state. No hopes are entertained of his recovery.

Accounts from Hanover state that King Ernest is seriously indisposed, by a severe attack of influenza.

Deputy Rettig's motion, for the abolition of capital punishment in the grand duchy of Baden, passed the Chamber on the 8th instant, almost unanimously.

Great agitation still existed in Paris consequent on the debate in the Chamber, and a second meeting of Opposition members, held for the purpose of considering the promise of reform given by the *Débats*, has failed to abate the storm. These changes in the Government policy have been treated with scorn, and pronounced too late. The National Guard is busier than ever in preparing a demonstration in support of the reform movement. The commanders have convoked their officers, in order to ascertain their opinions; and addresses are in preparation, to be presented to the Opposition, urging firmness, legality, and resistance. The municipal council have sent a collective address to M. de Rambuteau, prefect of the Seine, warning him against the danger of forcibly resisting the projected banquet. At a meeting of Opposition deputies, on Monday, resolutions were passed, the purport of which did not transpire, but it was assured that no time would be lost in giving a solemn and peaceful form to a manifestation which will be the more imposing from having for its object the assertion of sacred rights. The address of the Chamber was presented at the Tuileries on Monday evening, the Opposition deputies being absent. Fifteen Opposition deputies had met at the house of M. Billault, and resolved not to attend the proposed banquet, but also to decline attending at the Tuileries on the presentation of the address.

News from Naples states that Messina had been bombarded on the 29th ult.

The municipality of Turin have voted a statue to the King of Sardinia.

In the sitting of the Grand Council of Basle, on the 9th inst., Deputy Schönbein proposed to insert the following clauses in the project for the revision of the Pact:—

1. That every Swiss should have the right to belong to whatever confession of faith he thought fit, and to openly fulfil the duties imposed upon him by the same in every part of the Confederation.
2. That religion was in no way to be connected with political questions.

The proposition, on being put to the vote, was carried by a majority of twenty-two. It will, therefore, come under discussion.

RETIREMENT OF SIR R. PEEL FROM THE LEADERSHIP OF THE CONSERVATIVES.

The *Daily News* of this morning, contains an important announcement, which is in effect as follows:—"A meeting of the friends and followers of Sir R. Peel took place, we understand, on Saturday last, when the line which it was most expedient for their future interest to pursue, was the subject of deliberation. It was agreed upon unanimously, that the indeterminate position they had hitherto occupied between the Liberals and the Protectionists was no longer tenable. Their moderation must daily expose them to be confounded with the Whigs; their professions of adherence to the old political faith of 1835 and 1841—to be identified too frequently with the puerility and passion of the "dangerous classes" of Toryism. Some change of tactics had become indispensable, if their sectional *prestige* and distinctiveness was to be preserved."

Sir Robert Peel told his friends that he could not undertake the leadership of the party. He felt himself debarred from doing so by the resolution which upon deliberate reflection he had formed, never to place himself in such a position as that he could reasonably be called upon to take office again. He preferred the independence and ease of a comparatively unambitious station, and intimated distinctly that his present determination was never to take office again. But his advice and vote were at the service of whomever they might select as their parliamentary leader. He did not wish to lead, but he would cheerfully follow. Perhaps they could not do better than agree to name Lord Lincoln their chief, under whose green banner he, Sir Robert, would be the first soldier to enlist. The old habit of obedience restrained all thought of discussion. Lord Lincoln was chosen leader without hesitation.

CROSBY-HALL, BISPOFGATE-STREET, TUESDAY, FEB. 15.—A very full audience assembled here this evening, to hear the lecture of Mr. Edward Baines, jun., on voluntary education, being the first of a series of eight on the subject of education, proposed to be given by the Congregational Board of Education. We shall give a report of the lecture in our next number.

MR. DANIEL O'CONNELL.—The *Limerick Examiner*, a repeal paper, says: "We are glad to hear that Mr. D. O'Connell, jun. is about to receive an appointment. The consulship of Boulogne is the one named to us; the salary attached to which is said to be about £800 a year." A new writ for Waterford was moved for on Monday night.

LEADERSHIP OF THE COUNTRY PARTY.—Lord Granby has declined the honour of succeeding to the post of leader of the Conservative party in the House of Commons, become vacant by the retirement of Lord George Bentinck.—*Morning Herald.*

MORTALITY IN THE METROPOLIS.—According to the Registrar-General's return for the metropolitan districts, the deaths registered in the week ending Saturday, the 12th instant, were 1,324. The weekly average for the season is 1,107. The mortality, therefore, is in excess of the average to the amount of 217 deaths; but it exhibits a decrease on the last six weeks of more than 100. Influenza, bronchitis, and pneumonia become less fatal.

It is reported, that the actual subscriptions for Mr. Cobden's services as Anti-Corn-law agitator, nominally between £70,000 and £80,000, do not exceed £40,000.—*Berwick and Kelso Warrier.*

CORN EXCHANGE, MARK-LANE, WEDNESDAY, FEB. 16, 1848.

We are moderately supplied with Grain and Flour this week, but the demand to-day continues very limited for every article. Prices as on Monday.

Arrivals this week:—English Wheat, 3,820 qrs., Barley, 5,570 qrs. Oats, 2,480 qrs., Flour, 3,950 sacks; Irish Oats, 1,320 qrs.; Foreign Barley, 2,500 qrs., Oats, 380 qrs.

ENLARGEMENT OF THE "NONCONFORMIST."

On and after Wednesday, March the 1st, the *Nonconformist* will be enlarged EIGHT PAGES, without any increase of price. The paper will then contain 24 pages, or 72 columns, of closely-printed matter.

The *Nonconformist* will continue to be published, as heretofore, every Wednesday afternoon, at the Office, 4, Horse-shoe Court, Ludgate-hill, price 6d., 13s. for 6 months, or 26s. per annum. Orders are received by the Publishers, MIALL and COCKSHAW, (with payment for a year or half-year in advance,) and by all news-agents throughout the country.

The increased size and circulation secured to the *Nonconformist* by this change will make it a desirable medium for Advertisements, which are inserted on very moderate terms; viz.—

For Eight Lines and under 5s.

For every additional Two Lines . . . 6d.

Half a Column. . . £1 | Column. £2

Advertisements intended for the first enlarged number should be sent not later than Monday, the 28th of February. Advertisements from the country must be accompanied by a post-office order, or an order for payment in London.

* * Friends desirous of circulating the Address announcing the enlargement may receive any number of copies on application to the Publishers.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"H. K." We are obliged to him for his interesting extract from a sermon of Andrew Fuller's on the subject of War, but as we find it remarkably concurrent in sentiment and argument with our recent articles, and as we are resolved upon now dropping the subject, we must decline its insertion. For the same reason we must again destroy the hopes of W. M.

"L. M." We cannot recall the title of any work in which the information he seeks may be obtained.

"L. D. C." We see no necessary connexion between the two. The one is a gift—the other, for the most part, a habit. The one, however, will be much aided by the other.

"A. R. K." Were we to act upon his advice, it would be necessary that our circulation should be multiplied by five. We have not yet seen an instance of real success in the line he recommends.

"G. S." We will lay his letter before the Committee of the Association.

"E. L. Forster," of Stoney Stratford, writes thus:—"DEAR SIR—The expenses of Mr. Simonds' trial at Aylesbury have been more than met through the benevolence of the public. I write to ask your advice respecting the use that should be made of the surplus. A few words in answer to this question in the next number of the *Nonconformist* would much oblige one of the Committee. Yours truly, "E. L. FORSTER."

"Stoney Stratford, Feb. 11, 1848." In reply we beg to state that the few subscribers with whom we have conversed on the subject, have, without exception, expressed a desire to hand over the surplus to Simonds, as a small but inadequate mark of their esteem for him, and as a slight compensation to him for loss of time.—ED. *Nonconformist*

"An intending competitor." We cannot give him the information. He had better apply to head-quarters.

The address of the Peace Society shall be inserted next week.

RECEIVED FOR THE DEFENCE OF J. SIMONDS, THE CHURCH-RATE VICTIM.

	£	s.	d.
Joseph Marsh, London	1	1	0
R. S., Highbury-place	1	1	0
J. Sprague, London	1	0	0
S. Sturge, London	1	0	0
S. Walters, London	0	10	0
	£4	12	0

The Nonconformist.

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1848.

SUMMARY.

THE discussion on the bill for the removal of existing obstacles to the admission of Jews into Parliament, which was adjourned on Monday, was not resumed until Friday, in consequence of the interposition, on Tuesday night, of Mr. Anstey, who insisted upon exhibiting his articles of impeachment against Lord Palmerston. The hon. gentleman has unfortunately taken up a grave subject, with a levity of temper, inordinate vanity of mind, and a striking want of sound judgment, which were certain to insure his defeat. The House, which was full at the commencement of his speech, was speedily emptied, before he had fairly broken ground upon the matter which he intended it to contain, and the count-out put an end at once to his oration, and to all chance of his making a beneficial impression upon the mind of the country. The meddling propensities of Lord Palmerston call loudly enough for censure, and our only fear is, that Mr. Anstey has very greatly diminished the chance of his receiving it. His monster motion was put into a shape but ill-adapted to further his professed end. It was too ostentatious, savoured too strongly of Hibernian braggadocio, aimed at far too much, to produce valuable results. We see he threatens to bring on his motion again on the first supply night, and thus to enforce for himself a hearing. We wish, with all our heart, that he may get one, but we fear that he has undertaken a task too mighty for his strength, and that his failure will discourage others from attempting something useful in the same direction, but in a more rational manner.

Of the debate on the removal of Jewish disabilities, which closed on Friday night, with a majority of 73 in favour of the second reading of the bill, little need be said in addition to what we have already advanced. The speech of Mr. C. Pearson was creditable both to his ability and to his moral courage. He avowed himself a Dissenter, and argued the question upon those broad principles which Dissenters recognise as true. Nor ought we to omit reference to the speeches of Mr. Horsman and the hon. Mr. Cowper, who dealt with the religious fallacies introduced into the former part of the debate with great discrimination, tact, and success. Sir R. Peel, who brought up the rear of the discussion by a speech in favour of the measure, said very little that was either new or striking, and rather reproduced a summary of the arguments which had been previously employed than offered any peculiarly his own. On the whole, the debate evinces considerable progress in Parliamentary notions of the relation subsisting between the civil magistrate and the religion of the subject. Much, unquestionably, remains to be done. There is yet ample room for improvement; but sufficient evidence is before us of a considerable advance in the right direction, and principles have been laid down and recognised, the legitimate development of which will one day sever the connexion between Church and State. The prospect of the bill in the House of Lords has been much brightened by the demise of the Archbishop of Canterbury. A vacant office of such pre-eminent dignity and emolument will attract towards it the longing desires of many bishops, and probably, as on former occasions, desire will be strong enough to run away with judgment. Every episcopal vote given against the bill will be regarded as a bar to all chance of promotion. Perhaps Lord John Russell will take the hint, and delay his appointment of the new primate until the measure has safely passed its several stages through the House of Lords.

Lord Morpeth has reintroduced his bill for sanitary reform with several amendments; and this time probably he will see it successfully triumph over all opposition. The leading principle of the measure is that of local action subject to central control. Part of its provisions are compulsory—part only permissive. It omits the metropolis from the range of its operation, which, however, Lord Morpeth proposes to deal with in a separate bill. It does not grapple with the nuisance of intramural interment, probably from fear of the clergy. Nor does it provide for free light and air, by the abolition of the window-tax, in deference, most likely, to the objections of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It is at once bold and timid—bold in the constitution of a new department of patronage—timid in grappling with vested interests.

Two or three other questions of some interest have engaged the notice of the so-called people's house. A short conversation, got up by Mr. Cardwell on Thursday evening, on the propriety of reducing the duty on tea, brought out, what every one expected from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, a declaration that, however desirable such reduction might be for commercial purposes, the present condition of the revenue forbade the hope of its being carried into effect; and yet it would appear that Government has not been over-delicate as to the increase of our current expenditure. The new palace at Westminster is swallowing up more than double the sum at which the original estimate of its cost was laid; and the army, navy, and ordnance have been allowed to cost the nation nearly two millions more, during the year, than the House of Commons had bargained for. With such recklessness of expense a contraction of our income cannot of course be permitted; and unless the people move in earnest, Government will lead them deeper and deeper into financial embarrassments, and fix upon them burdens too weighty to be borne, but requiring all but superhuman energy to throw them off. The only other Parliamentary topic is a bill for the suspension, for five years, of the New Zealand constitution, sent out spick and span new scarcely twelve months since—a measure, upon the merits of which we may have something more to say anon.

The Yarmouth election committee have unseated both its members on the ground of general bribery, and have recommended that, prior to another election for the borough, the freemen should be disfranchised. We insert a brief extract from an article in the *Times* on the subject, which probably lets out more truth than its writer would care to be believed:—

"If we admit it to be a fair sample of other English constituencies, we are already bought and sold. The value in the market of British liberty can be calculated to a fraction. It is no longer a complicated arithmetical operation. Without the light thrown upon it by the Great Yarmouth purists, an actuary might have been puzzled. Give him the Yarmouth data, and a child may solve the problem. What was the value of British liberties in the market at the recent election, Ireland and errors excepted? Strike out, in other words, Conciliation-hall nominees as surplage, and make a reasonable abatement for the uncertainty of the exact sciences, and what sum would buy up the constitution?"

"We see by a return moved for by Mr. Williams last session, that the number of electors in England, Wales, and Scotland, is 944,000, and a few over, whom we will assume to be suffering from influenza. It is evident, then, if we can arrive at the price of the voters per head, the question is of easy solution. In Great Yarmouth it is £3. Here is the authority:—

"Edward Bowles, a fisherman, and freeman of Yarmouth, said that he had received £3, having been told that it was for voting at the last election. He had always voted 'Blue' before the last election but one, and had invariably received three sovereigns. That was the custom of Yarmouth."

"The testimony of all the witnesses agrees upon this point. We select that of the man of bloaters from its perfect conciseness. Cabinet-makers, mast-makers, cordwainers, hairdressers, all tell the same story. There are 1,800 voters upon the register of the borough of Great Yarmouth, 1,000 of whom are freemen. The cost, then, of that constituency is £3,000, or, as there are two members, £1,500 would secure one seat. If we multiply then the gross number of electors, as given in Mr. Williams's return, by 3, the price per head of each elector, the lives, liberties, and fortunes of Englishmen will be found to be just worth £1,500,000, which would purchase a clear majority of the electors according to the Yarmouth standard."

Out of doors, domestic topics needing mention are comparatively few. The death of the Archbishop of Canterbury has opened up to Lord John Russell a new opportunity for reading a rebuke to the Romanizing section of the Established Church. Whether he will do so, is a matter of great doubt. He is not wont to be bold in the same direction for any length of time. He will probably now trim his balance, and seek to conciliate the party whom he has deeply offended. The Anti-state-church Association continues actively to pursue its object of diffusing sound information amongst the people. A deputation is now proceeding the round of Lancashire, and, from the reports—an abridgment of which we have given in our paper—they would seem to have met hitherto with considerable success. It is a cheering feature of the times that their meetings have been amply reported by the local organs, and that, through such instrumentality, the arguments and appeals of the several speakers have been put in contact with the minds of the people at large.

The Canadian elections have resulted in the utter discomfiture of the Government and their sectarian allies. Of 84 members returned to the House of Assembly, 24 only are Ministerial, 54 Anti-Ministerial, and 6 doubtful. In the face of such a signal demonstration of want of confidence, the Tory ministry cannot longer remain in power, unless the Home Government are content once again to set at nought the constitutional rights which have been conceded to our North American colonies, but the operation of which has, on one pretence or another, been virtually suspended. There is, however, this difference between the state of affairs now and a few years since. The Canadians had no confidence in Lord Metcalfe; but, according to all accounts, they have great faith in Lord Elgin's regard for constitutional rights. The Governor-General has sought counsel of the Home Government before he takes any decided step in the new state of affairs. We trust they will not again set at nought the principle of responsible government for the colonies, by running counter to the legally-expressed sentiments of the Canadian people. The University Spoliation Bill may now be, we suppose, considered as abandoned. What are likely to be the principles upon which a new Liberal administration are to be conducted is by no means so clear. One circumstance connected with this election will afford peculiar satisfaction to the opponents of clerical domination at home. A very large portion of the Wesleyan electors refused to be any parties to the disgraceful compact entered into by their leaders with a corrupt government, and, in many cases, they have met together, and passed resolutions denouncing, with becoming indignation, the impertinent dictation of "The Special Committee of Conference," and the plan proposed for partitioning amongst four sects the funds of King's College University.

Another of our colonies—Nova Scotia—is also engaged in a struggle for a responsible government. The present state of things may be gathered from the following extract from our esteemed coadjutor, the *Toronto Examiner*:—"The result of the general election, held four or five months ago, placed the Liberals in a clear indisputable majority; yet Ministers, whose supporters are in a minority, have not resigned, and Parliament has not been assembled. The pacific disposition of the ascendant party develops itself in a quiescent policy which teaches present submission to the inexplicable inactivity of the head of the Government rather than risk a misunderstanding or a conflict with the Governor. It is totally indefensible on the principles of responsible government, to all the benefits of which the Nova Scotians are entitled, that men in whom a majority of the electors have declared unequivocally their want of confidence, should continue to administer the Government and to draw salaries from the public purse." Sir John Harvey, the Governor of the Colony, who seems to be troubled with few constitutional qualms, sides with his ministers. What instructions the Colonial Secretary will forward to Nova Scotia does not yet appear.

The United States Government seem resolved not to let go their hold upon Mexico, or relax one iota in their demands. According to the latest accounts terms of peace had been concluded by Mr. Trist with the Mexican Government on the basis of the last unsuccessful negotiation, but President Polk had refused to ratify them. The war party in the States will be satisfied by no such compromise. The conquest and complete subjugation and annexation of the Mexican people and territory would appear to be their darling scheme. Whether or not they will succeed in effecting this object, which would necessitate a dissolution of the American Union, is at present doubtful. General Scott has enforced the financial and administrative occupation of the whole of Mexico—a step equivalent to a provisional annexation—and the Government are pressing through the Legislature a bill to raise ten additional regiments of regular troops. On the other hand, the war party are opposed by Clay, Calhoun, and Webster, the three greatest states-

men of America, and the House of Representatives have passed a resolution throwing the whole responsibility of the war upon the President. The revolution which this iniquitous war has already effected in the United States is thus described by the *Times*:—"The political system under which the States have grown and flourished has been abruptly abandoned, and we see a country scarcely yet arrived at adolescence exhibiting all the follies and contracting all the maladies of effete and decrepid monarchies. In place of that pacific and neutral policy which, even within the last twenty years, has been declared the essential and fundamental policy of the United States, we observe unbounded conquest attempted, and ruinous debt incurred. Already is the dissolution of the Union considered a probable occurrence, and it is hard to avoid concluding that, before five years more have elapsed, the United States of America must necessarily have been either resolved or expanded into some political society vastly different from that represented now." The final decision of this vital question will, in all probability, be sealed by the next Presidential election, for which all parties are preparing.

SIGNS OF ADVANCING SPRING.

ALBERT stern Winter has dealt tenderly with us, and has suffered his appointed period of rule to pass over with but one short and spasmodic exertion of his power, we welcome, with scarcely less joyousness than usual the advent of Spring. Of all the seasons, we have ever loved her best. Her freshness, her purity, the modesty of her pretensions, the kindness of her heart, her soft whispers of hope, her sweet smiles of gladness, always awaken in us responsive emotions, and breathe new life into our erst torpid souls. Maiden of the sunny countenance, we hail thy approach with a fulness of delight and gratitude! That eye of mild and tender light which glows more brightly as thou comest nearer to us—that brow serene, crowned with a chaplet of early flowers—that soft, warm breath, odorous of violets, which diffuses delicious pleasure through the realms of sense—the gracefulness of thy step, as thou trippiest towards us over thy daisied path—and the pale green hue of thy mantle, as it waves in the breeze, or reflects the rays of the sun—all have a charm for us which it were impossible to describe. Our pulse is quickened—our spirits break forth into singing—our best affections bound forth, as in the days of their youth, to meet and greet thee. Welcome! welcome to our heart of hearts!

Humanity, too, has its seasons—and, happily, spring is among them. The vast continent of Europe is just beginning to be conscious of its return. O! the winter has been a long, a weary, and a rigorous one. Despotism, like a severe and protracted frost, has kept the nations in a hardened, petrified state of political serfdom. Institutions which afforded no room for the expansion of mind—systems of civil rule which repressed all aspirations to independence, and which checked the upward tendency of civilization and intelligence—laws which embodied no will but that of absolute, and often capricious magistracy—burdens laid upon the shoulders of suffering peoples, without the least regard to their strength to bear them—life, liberty, and possessions sported with, wasted, destroyed, with no other view than to gratify evil passions, indulge vain-glorious pride, or minister food to a reckless ambition—combinations of crowned heads against the rights of subjects—the press silenced—freedom of speech forbidden—conscience outraged—and human rights the most sacred trampled under the iron heels of military forces—for many, many years, we have looked out from our seagirt isle, and witnessed, with sighing sympathy for the oppressed, these lamentable scenes. Aye! the winter has been long, and the frost severe—but a better time is coming—and many are the signs which proclaim at last the advent of spring.

Listen! one after another, reports of explosions reach us. The thick ice is cracking. Everywhere, mind is bursting the barriers by which it was confined. Nothing can stay the progress of liberal ideas. See! the fresh flowers of spring, earnest of brighter days, push up with a rapidity that excites astonishment. Absolute princes, influenced, sometimes by fear, sometimes by policy, are ceding political constitutions to their subjects. Prussia led the van. Denmark has hastened to imitate the example. The Two Sicilies have wrung a reluctant consent from their monarch. Albert of Sardinia steps forth to gratify Genoa and Piedmont, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and the Roman Pontiff, have likewise promised their subjects real representative institutions. Where will the movement end? Austria watches it with sullen dissatisfaction, but, as yet, dares not interfere. France, for her own sake, is bound to make a show of acquiescence. O! that the good work may henceforth go forward in peace! Go forward, however, it must and will. There may be interruptions to its progress—variations in it—a week of balmy weather, and a week of cold east winds—but as surely as summer succeeds spring, and autumn, summer, so surely will intelligence lead on to liberty, and free institutions to national prosperity and peace. The laws of mind are as constant as the laws of nature—and, spite of all intervening obstacles, they will ultimately assert their supremacy.

We see now but the beginnings of change. The end is not yet. The spell of despotism is bound up with the lives of Louis Philippe and Metternich, both old, and tottering upon the brink of the grave. When

they are removed, the main pillars of the edifice will be wanting, and the system will fall to pieces with its own weight. Why, even now, and when death is as yet only on the threshold, the movements of the French and German people reveal their determination to work out a much fuller and worthier development of their notions of freedom. The seeds of great revolutions quicken in the soil of the public mind, and wait but opportunity to push themselves above the surface. Portugal, disappointed by the meddling of Lord Palmerston—and Spain, forced back upon virtual absolutism by the greedy ambition of the King of the French, will start again in pursuit of constitutional liberty, at the first signal of that monarch's exit from our world. Russia alone, in all likelihood, will remain unmoved—but Russia, single-handed, can do nothing to hinder the work elsewhere. We have hope, moreover, that the change will be too sudden, too simultaneous, to allow of much bloodshed, or to provoke war. Where all are absorbed in their own affairs, there will be less probability of interference with the affairs of neighbours.

We are not sanguine enough to see in what is now passing on the continent, the commencement of a political millennium. We know well that the nations will have to wrestle hard with opposing influences, before they settle down in quiet under free institutions. We have no great faith in the sufficiency of mere revolutions to deliver a people from bondage, or to raise them from degradation—and experience has taught us to look with some suspicion upon the advantages which are won by the edge of the sword. But it is cheering, spite of every drawback to have before us palpable evidence of the upheaving of mind, in all the states of Europe—nor is it a small matter, that the superincumbent mass of brutal force by which that mind has hitherto been kept down, exhibits rents and fissures so large and so numerous as to warrant the expectation that the whole system is on the point of breaking up. It may be that absolutism may be succeeded by very imperfect liberty—and that where institutions are most unexceptionable, the virtue requisite for the beneficial working of them, has yet to be quickened and formed. Meanwhile, the transition is in the direction of justice and freedom. The nations are getting further and further from the winter season of their respective histories. Spring is advancing upon them. The blossoms of constitutional government appear. The sap is rising. The surface of society puts on a tint of verdure. The forests are becoming vocal. Brightness is upon the face of the country. And the general feeling is one of hope and expectation. May both be realized to the widest extent! And may the brotherhood of nations be equal partakers of all the rights and virtues necessary to constitute each "great, glorious, and free."

A WORD AND A BLOW—AND THE BLOW FIRST.

THE country has been agitated from end to end by the rumour of a contemplated augmentation of our military expenditure. It might as well have remained quiet; for the increase which it laboured to avert had already been effected. Nay! start not, gentle reader! the mischief is already done. The Whigs have had the effrontery to be beforehand with Parliament and the people. They have expended, it seems, upon the army nearly a million more, and upon the navy nearly half a million more, during the year, than was voted to them upon their own estimates; and we believe that the recent outlay at the Cape and at New Zealand is not included in this return.

The secret of the "National Defences" bugbear is now out. We thought Mr. Bright too charitable to Ministers when, at the late free-trade demonstration at Manchester, he avowed his belief that, of all men, the members of the Whig Cabinet were the least likely to have connived at the *ruse*, and would be most exposed to inconvenience from its success. Such a conclusion might commend itself, as plausible enough, to one not cognisant of the facts which remained to be disclosed. Had Mr. Bright known that, at the very moment at which he was speaking, the estimates had been already overstepped to the tune of nearly two millions, his sagacity would have prompted him to infer that the outcry had been raised merely to serve as the cloud of dust under which the Government might, if possible, escape censure.

How the country may relish the recent revelation we know not. If it submit to this species of bamboozling, it richly deserves what it will presently have to suffer—an increased and permanent income-tax. We wait to see how the House of Commons will treat the question, and subjoin, meanwhile, a few judicious and well-timed observations from the *Daily News*:—

"If, in a year in which the sole demands on our military and naval establishments were a few skirmishes with naked savages at the Cape of Good Hope and New Zealand, and the necessity of sending the squadron of evolution to anchor in the Tagus, instead of careering in the channel—if such efforts as these are to cost the country two extra millions—if army and navy, instead of sufficing for common perils and contingencies, require thousands extra for every move of a limb and exertion of a muscle—why, then, our military establishments are really but pumps to drain money from the treasury, instead of being ready reservoirs of strength to obviate the expense of hurried and extemporized efforts.

"We have merely the navy estimates before us, and therefore shall postpone remarks on the very serious subject of these extra millions. But the gradual increase of military expenditure since 1835, as sanctioned by legislative votes, is of itself a more serious subject of consideration; all, indeed, proving that Parliament has given the impulse,

and that it has of course been acted upon with alacrity. The tabular statement of augmentation of military expenses for several years, which we published on Saturday, is pregnant with suggestion. From 1835 to 1848 we have nearly doubled our expenditure. For, it will be remembered, that during the increase of the later estimates, the non-effective service of the three departments has been diminishing, and costs now one million and a half less than when Sir Henry Parnell wrote his book in 1830. This million and a half, instead of being saved, has been silently added to the cost of the effective service."

POLITICAL RELATIONS WITH ROME.

THE measure introduced to the House of Lords last week by the Marquis of Lansdowne, for giving the sanction of the Legislature to the establishment of diplomatic relations between this country and the Court of Rome, appears likely enough to pass through both Houses without having to encounter any serious opposition. We see no valid objection to it, other than that which would equally apply to the whole system of diplomacy, as now managed. It is merely the substitution of a direct, open intercourse, for one carried on by subterfuge and deceit. It has, moreover, the merit in our eyes, of committing a further breach upon the politico-ecclesiastical ramparts by which our Government has been surrounded. It may be impossible, perhaps, in practice, to separate, on all occasions, the Court from the See of Rome; but we apprehend no danger to our civil rights from any influence which the Pope, as a spiritual sovereign, can wield either here or in Ireland.

Meanwhile, let us not blind our eyes to the palpable, we may almost add the avowed, motives of Ministers in pushing forward this measure. Increased security for the Established Church is the main object they have at heart. It is difficult to imagine how this can be compassed by diplomatic relations with the Court of Rome, unless advantage is to be taken of them to pave the way for the endowment of the Irish Roman Catholic priesthood. We have not a remaining doubt upon our minds, that this is the grand consummation at which the Whigs are cautiously driving—and that they have resolved upon removing the obstacles which now prevent it, one by one, before making a formal application to Parliament. The duty of Anti-state-churchmen, therefore, presents itself to our judgment in a clearer light than ever. It does not become them to shrink from the application of their own principles, whatever they may justly suspect to be the design of the statesmen who propose it—but it behoves them to labour with redoubled earnestness in enlightening the public mind, in order that, whenever the attempt is made to shift the basis of Church Establishments in this country, the moment may be seized upon for bringing the weight of popular opinion to bear upon them, and thus overturn them altogether.

THE PROTECTIONISTS.—A second meeting of the Country party was held on Wednesday, at the house of Mr. Bankes, when the Marquis of Granby (Lord John Manners's brother) was elected to the post vacated by Lord George Bentinck.

MR. R. DILLON BROWNE, M.P., is appointed to succeed Sir Emerson Tennent as Colonial Secretary at Ceylon.—*Limerick Chronicle*.

AN AMBASSADOR FROM ROME.—His Excellency Monsignor Bedini has just arrived in this country from Rome, on a special mission to the British Government from his Holiness the Pope. His Excellency has had an interview with the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and was among the personages of distinction at Viscountess Palmerston's reception on Saturday night. The presence of his Excellency attracted considerable attention among the distinguished company that crowded her Ladyship's salons.—*Times*.

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT has entirely failed in its desire to arrange the postal difficulties which for some time have existed with the American Government. Terms of just and complete reciprocity were offered to and refused by the United States Cabinet.—*Times*.

LORD SHREWSBURY AND DR. M'HALE.—In place of answering Lord Shrewsbury's appeal to free the Irish Catholic clergy from the charge of sanctioning murder, the Archbishop of Tuam replied in a long letter, with a string of fierce but vague counter-charges against the Earl, as a columniator, a bad son of the Church, &c. To this epistle Lord Shrewsbury has made a rejoinder through the columns of the *Morning Post*, elaborately contradicting the several accusations. The Earl convicts the Bishop of barefaced misrepresentations. For example: Lord Shrewsbury had said, that, "to the eye of England," the Irish Catholic Church was tainted by the guilt of a few individuals; and that "the public voice in England" pronounced the Church "to be a conniver at injustice." Dr. M'HALE represented Lord Shrewsbury as entertaining that view himself, and as "deliberately asserting" that the Church was "a conniver," &c. Dr. M'HALE's attack was not worth the space and trouble that Lord Shrewsbury has devoted to it, especially since Rome has taken upon itself the duty to which he vainly called the Irish prelates.

THE BISHOP OF LONDON GALVANIZED.—We understand that the Lord Bishop of London is in a weak state of health, and that his lordship is frequently obliged to have recourse to galvanism as a remedy.—*Church and State Gazette*.

THE DUKE OF BRUNSWICK recovered, in the Court of Queen's Bench, on Wednesday last, damages to the amount of £1,000 against Mr. Pepper, the printer of the *Satirist* newspaper, for certain libels contained in the columns of that paper. The same day, His Royal Highness recovered, in the Court of Common Pleas, damages to the amount of £720 against certain sheriff's officers, for forcibly breaking open and entering his dwelling-house, in Brunswick-place, London, on the 15th of May last, and making a forcible seizure of his property.

THE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT.

NEW ZEALAND CONSTITUTION BILL.

On Wednesday Mr. LABOUCHERE moved the order of the day for going into committee on the New Zealand Constitution Bill. The Earl of LINCOLN reminded Mr. Labouchere that, when the House permitted the bill to be read a second time before Christmas, it was on the understanding that the discussion should be taken on the motion to go into committee; but it was impossible to do justice to the principle of a bill for suspending the constitution of a colony in the morning of a Wednesday's sitting. Mr. Hawes, the Under-Secretary, was out of the House; Lord John Russell, who had been Colonial Secretary, was absent. Under all these circumstances, Lord Lincoln urged Mr. Labouchere not to press the motion. Mr. Labouchere declined to give way; as there was little diversity on the principle of the bill, and the committee was the proper occasion for discussing the details. Accordingly the discussion proceeded. Mr. GLADSTONE turned it at once on the "treaty of Waitangi," to which he avowed his unflinching adhesion; and on the conduct of Bishop Selwyn, which he defended on the presumption that Dr. Selwyn had not been guilty of the indiscretion imputed to him. He was supported in these views by Sir Edward Buxton and Mr. CARDWELL. Mr. LABOUCHERE endeavoured to show that Government had not altogether acted in disregard of the treaty of Waitangi. Towards the close of the day Lord LINCOLN pointed out how vainly the debate had been diverted to other topics, leaving the bill untouched. Ultimately the House went into committee, but did little more than order "progress" to be reported.

On the motion for going into committee on this bill on Monday, Lord LINCOLN at some length criticised its provisions. The constitution, on the faith of which it was known that a number of colonists from Scotland had left this country, was now to be suspended for five years. It was on the strength of the governor's report that this bill was introduced for the purpose of suspending for five years a system of government alike universally condemned both in the colony and the mother country. The process of suspension was but little applicable to the case in point. Suspension implied an abstract approval of the constitution. The best course for the Government now to pursue was, at once to confess that it had committed a blunder in framing the document in question, and at once to repeal it, so as to leave the way perfectly clear for providing without delay for such a government as would meet the wants and subserve the interests of the colony. His principal reason for urging the repeal, instead of the suspension of the existing constitution, was, that he desired that such a state of things should be, as speedily as possible, brought about as would enable the Government to grant appropriate representative institutions to the colony.

Mr. LABOUCHERE thought that many of the points to which the noble lord had adverted, would be better discussed in committee. He altogether differed with the noble lord, however, as to the wisdom and practicability of the course which he recommended, commencing with the total repeal of the Act of 1846. The course suggested by the Government, though an unusual one, and though it gave great discretionary powers to the present Governor, was, on the whole, the safest, the wisest, and the most prudent that could be adopted, inasmuch as it appeared to be the best adapted for the attainment of the object which they all had in view. The House then went into committee on the bill, and the discussion of its clauses occupied the remainder of the evening.

HEALTH OF TOWNS.

Lord MORPETH on Thursday evening moved for leave to bring in a bill for promoting the public health. Having briefly recapitulated the circumstances which led to the abandonment of the bill of last session, which, as it was his first, he hoped would be his last failure in connexion with the subject, the noble lord proceeded to detail the provisions of the measure which he now proposed to lay before the House. In the first place, it was proposed to abide by the proposition submitted last year to the House for the appointment of a general board, consisting of five members, two of whom were to be paid, and the board to be presided over by a responsible member of the executive government. But whilst he proposed that the central government should have a general control over the entire subject, he also proposed to leave the details and execution of the bill to local agency, under the supervision of local boards. In reference to these local boards, the Government also adhered to the opinion expressed by it last year, that they should be connected with, and not distinct from, the town councils in those places where municipal corporations existed. To this proposal two objections had formerly been raised; the first, that the members constituting the local boards would thus be inconveniently large, and the second, that sanitary boundaries would in many cases outstep and overlap the municipal boundaries. It was intended to obviate the first objection by providing that, after a certain number of the inhabitant householders of any town had applied to have the act put into operation amongst them, and after inquiry, and a report by competent inspectors on the circumstances of the district, and on the expediency of applying the act to it, it appeared to the Government that the act should be applied, the order in Council should define the number of persons whose duty it would be to carry it into effect. He proposed, therefore, not that the whole town council should be charged with the sanitary supervision of the district, but that a selection should be made by them for that purpose. With respect to the second objection, it was intended to obviate it by providing that the same order in Council should prescribe the number of sanitary councillors who should be appointed to act in behalf of the outlying districts, to be elected by the ratepayers on the same footing as the guardians of the poor, and who should be henceforth associated for the purposes of the act with the selected members of the town councils. In towns in which there were no corporations the same course would be pursued, the order in Council setting forth the number of sanitary commissioners who should be selected for the supervision of the district, to

be elected by the ratepayers on the same footing as the poor-law guardians. As regarded England and Wales, it was not proposed to make any exception in the bill. With reference to Scotland and Ireland, it was deemed more expedient not to encumber the present bill with the variety of clauses which would be required if they were included, but to postpone sanitary legislation for them until the fate of the bill for England and Wales was decided. He could assure the House that no delay would take place, after the present bill was disposed of, in bringing in a measure or measures for the sister kingdoms. In saying that no exception would be made in England or Wales, he would at once state, that the bill did not profess to exclude the metropolis. As to the functions and duties which the local boards would be called upon to perform, the bill made a division between such as would be obligatory, and such as would be only of an allowable or permissible character. Amongst the obligatory duties were the holding of regular and stated meetings for the transaction of business, the appointment of surveyors and inspectors of nuisances, the constructing of public sewers, to require owners or occupiers of houses to provide house-drains, to cleanse and water the streets, to cover up, cleanse, or fill up filthy and offensive ditches, to superintend and keep a register of slaughter-houses, and to provide sufficient water for public and private uses. Amongst the permissive duties were to enlarge, alter, and improve sewers, to construct house-drains in default of owners or occupiers, to require certain furnaces should consume their own smoke, to make by-laws with regard to slaughter-houses, to alter, when they should see fit, public buildings with respect to ventilation, to provide places of public recreation, and to purchase and maintain water-works. These purposes would be carried into effect by means of rating, the provisions for which should be drawn up on as simple and fair a footing as the variety of the subjects provided for in them would admit of. The rating clauses were so framed as to permit of some of the rates being raised on only those portions of a district which would receive special advantage from the proposed improvements, and in reference to works of great magnitude of their being repaid in small instalments spread over a large space of time. It was computed that the expense of all the necessary sanitary provisions for the poorest class of houses would be defrayed by a rate of not more than fourpence a week per house. He did not propose to embody in the present bill any clauses in reference to the general regulation of cemeteries, with the exception of enacting that when the Board of Health should in any case see reason to believe that any churchyard was manifestly injurious to the public health, they should have the power to prohibit its future use as a place of interment. As to ventilation, it was a subject which would be placed under the special supervision of the central board. Such were the main provisions of the measure; after detailing which the noble lord endeavoured to impress upon the House the grounds upon which he regarded it as their bounden duty to adopt his or some other and better bill, without delay. Amongst these he laid but little stress on the possible approach of cholera. It was not a temporary evil which they were now called upon to obviate—the epidemic pestilence and the infectious effluvia which generated and protracted it, causing an annual slaughter greater than that of the bloodiest fields of combat, were what they were called upon to grapple with. Lord Morpeth then proceeded to illustrate the necessity for prompt and efficient action, by referring at length to statistics of mortality in various parts of the kingdom, which went to show that 30,000 lives which were now sacrificed might be annually saved, and seven or eight millions which were now wasted might be annually spared; and if we did not save the one and spare the other, our folly would only be less than our crime. He concluded by moving for leave to bring in the bill.

A very desultory series of commentaries on Lord Morpeth's statement ensued; the speakers generally expressing strong approbation of the measure, but finding fault with omissions. Lord Morpeth was blamed for not including the metropolis, by Colonel SMITHORP, Mr. WAKLEY, (who said the bill ought to begin in "stinking, filthy London,"), and Alderman SIDNEY; for omitting the repeal of the window-tax, by Lord DUNCAN, Captain Pechell, Mr. WAKLEY, Mr. HUME, Alderman SIDNEY, and Mr. JOHN REYNOLDS; further, Mr. WAKLEY objected that no power was given to prevent the contemplated erection of a fever hospital in the heart of Islington; and Mr. WYLD objected to the expense, especially of the Ordnance survey.

The Earl of LINCOLN protested against these observations—

He would state his conviction that Lord Morpeth had acted most wisely in not encumbering the measure with details which would only have impeded its progress. The bill was sufficiently comprehensive already; and it should pass, it would be a most valuable contribution towards sanitary reform. The complicated subjects of interment in towns and the window-tax should be dealt with by themselves, hereafter. The local machinery seemed to be a great improvement. Lord Morpeth seemed also inclined to confine within its legitimate bounds the central authority, and there was no more intermeddling with local authorities than was necessary. If it should be found that the measure in these respects was an improved one, he had no doubt it would meet with a more favourable reception than former bills on this subject, and that it would pass the House and prove highly beneficial to the country.

In answer to Mr. MOXSELL, Lord MORPETH said that a measure for Ireland would be introduced during the present session.

In his general reply, Lord MORPETH said that the suggestion of establishing fever hospitals in the out-lets would receive the most serious attention of Government; but the transference of fever patients would certainly be attended with grave difficulty.

Leave was given to bring in the bill; it was introduced, read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time on Friday the 18th.

TRADE WITH CHINA: TEA DUTIES.

On Thursday, Mr. CARDWELL called the attention of the Commons to the report of the Select Committee appointed in 1847 to consider the state of our commercial relations with China; his object being to suggest a reduction of the duty on tea.

He showed that trade with China has not been extended to the degree which might have been expected from the in-

creased communication with that country, and its population of three hundred millions; our export-trade being but £2,400,000 in 1845. The increase of trade, so far as it has gone, has even been carried on at a loss, which has been computed at 35 or 40 per cent. When it ceased to be remunerative, our export trade passed from the hands of the British merchant to the manufacturer; and when he relinquished it in disappointment, it was taken up by the native merchant, anxious to extend the market for his teas. Why was the trade with China unremunerative? The return that China makes for the commodities which she imports are principally three—silver, about £2,000,000 annually; silk, an increasing trade; and tea, the last being by far the most important article of export. Sir John Davis says that the import trade of China is limited by its export trade; and it is our onerous duties on tea which prevent our taking a larger quantity of that article. The ratio of duty to the export price averages about 200 per cent.; but on poorer qualities it has been observed to be as high as 1,000 per cent. The Americans, who have the greatest advantage in competing with us in the Chinese market for manufactures, have no duty on their tea. The exports of cotton-wool from the United States to Great Britain have fallen from 1,165,000 bales in 1837-8 to 830,000 bales in 1846-7. The consumption of cotton-wool in the United States has risen in the same time from 246,000 bales to 427,000 bales. The export of cotton cloths from Great Britain to China has fallen from £1,540,000 in 1845, to £880,000 in 1847, with no prospect of an increase for 1848. There has been a corresponding reduction in the shipping.

Mr. Cardwell admitted that the revenue from the tea-duty—£5,110,897 in 1846—cannot be spared; but he suggested a reduction. If the duty were reduced from 2s. 2d. to 1s. per pound, the revenue derived from the same quantity of tea would be £2,300,000. But if, as is probable, the public were to expend the same amount of money on their tea, there would be an additional consumption of 21,000,000 pounds, with a corresponding increase to the revenue, which would then be £3,500,000. That would imply an increase in the consumption of sugar, and a proportionate increase of the sugar revenue amounting to £455,000.

Mr. Cardwell concluded by moving for consular correspondence on the subject from China, since the 1st July, 1847.

The motion was seconded by Mr. EWART with the well-known examples of increased revenue from the reduction of the duty on coffee and cocoa.

Sir CHARLES WOOD did not resist the motion, but did oppose the suggestion of reduced duty.

He admitted the depressed state of the trade with China. It is always the case on the first opening of any trade, and was notably so in South America. All the mercantile world rush in; the markets are glutted; prices fall, and disaster is the consequence. He admitted, also, the force of the arguments for reducing the tea duty: the same might be said of many other articles, especially of tobacco; and that night abolition of the window-tax had been demanded. But if he were to take off £2,000,000 of taxes on tea, £1,700,000 on windows, and £4,000,000 on tobacco, it would be necessary for the people of this country to submit to additional taxation from some other source. Whether they would prefer an Income-tax or a Property-tax, he could not pretend to say; but as Lord John Russell was to make his financial statement on the 18th, it would be best to abstain in the mean time from any further observations.

The motion was supported by Mr. MOFFATT, Mr. WILLIAM BROWN, Mr. MASTERMAN, Dr. BOWRING, and Mr. JAMES WILSON: it was opposed, on the ground that the way to remedy deficiencies of revenue is not to take off taxes, by Lord GEORGE BENTINCK; on the ground that reduced taxation does not always lead to increased consumption, by Mr. BROTHERTON, Alderman SIDNEY, and Mr. HUDSON.

The motion for correspondence passed *nem. con.*

JEWISH DISABILITIES.

On Friday, in the House of Commons, the order of the day for renewing the debate on the second reading of the Jewish disabilities bill having been read, a large number of petitions were presented for and against the measure.

Mr. C. PEARSON, after referring to the able addresses of Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Walpole on the subject, observed that he should support the measure on the broad ground of civil and religious liberty. It was urged that their exclusion was conformable to other exclusions which were recognised by law. The law could not exclude these men—all they asked was eligibility, and that they were fully entitled to.

The second reading of the bill had been postponed till now in order that the country might have time to express itself on the subject; and the result had shown that the public at large were in favour of the measure—otherwise, why was their table not covered with petitions against it as in the case of the Maynooth grant? [hear.] He felt strongly on this subject. It had been his fortune to move for the admission to the corporation of London of the first Jew who had been admitted a citizen; he had the satisfaction of working with them from that time; and he trusted the House would not deny that people the act of justice which the present bill awarded them. When he recollected the many advances which had been made towards the establishment of religious freedom, and considered the great changes which had taken place from the time when men were liable to persecution for holding opinions which all were now at perfect liberty to express, he felt confident that that House would not restrain the further progress of that freedom by throwing out the bill [hear.] He had the greatest respect for the Church of England, and had ever admired her liberal spirit towards those differing from her in opinions. Though a Dissenter himself, he would rather live under the Church of England as a dominant body—if there was to be dominancy at all—than under his own or any other sect [cheers from the opposition side of the House]. That was a feeling which he believed was very predominant throughout that assembly, and he might say it was that feeling that preserved the equilibrium of the Church [hear.] He might add that there were no warmer friends of things as they are than the Jewish people [hear.] The hon. baronet (Sir R. Inglis) had spoken of the bill as a measure to admit persons who must be guilty of "awful mockery," and "gross blasphemy," and who called our Saviour a "crucified impostor." Now, if the aldermen, bankers, merchants, and householders of London had really attempted to inflict that disgrace on this House, then on their heads ought to fall a great curse. But it was because the Jews were not in the habit of calling our Saviour a crucified impostor, and were not likely to be guilty of blasphemy, that they had returned Baron Rothschild as their representative, conceiving him to have many qualifications which fitted him for that office. They had elected Baron Rothschild because they considered him peculiarly qualified to represent the interests and feelings of a mercantile body [hear.]

The hon. gentleman concluded as follows:—

The fable in which Æsop related the contest between the wind and the sun as to which of them should make the traveller part with his cloak afforded an apposite illustration of the means most likely to induce men to throw off their prejudices; or, in language which the Jews would prefer in this case, their adherence to the faith of their forefathers. As the story of the passenger and his cloak was told in the old nursery rhyme—

"The wind quite a hurricane blew,
But could not provoke
Him to part with his cloak,
Which around him the closer he drew."

"The mild melting ray," however, of "the sun at noon-day" made him feel his cloak oppressive, and "inclined him to throw it aside."
"Moral" [great laughter].

"Tis thus that we find
The great mass of mankind,
By mildness are easily won.
Persecution compare
To the bolterous air,
Religion's the light of the sun."

Lord DRUMLANRIG appealed to the religious feelings of the House, and called upon it to resist the innovation which was now for the first time attempted. He denied that the feeling out of doors was in favour of the proposed measure. The whole advocacy of the press, even, was confined to a sneer at the evangelical portion of that House, and an argument that Christianity meant nothing but civilization.

Mr. COWPER expressed his intention to give his cordial support to the bill. The question was, whether the Jews were or were not citizens of the United Kingdom? There could be no doubt that they were fully entitled to all the rights and privileges of British subjects. He enlarged, with much point and good sense, on the duty of the Legislature in reference to Christianity:—

Christianity, they all knew, was not a thing of mere words; it was not a mere title or designation, which they could take up casually, and which it was only necessary for a man to bear while the oath was being administered to him. Christianity was a living thing—a mode of being—a form of existence which could not be given by an act of Parliament, and which an act of Parliament could not take away [loud cries of "Hear, hear"]. Viewing Christianity, then, as an essential truth or quality, it was evident that it could not be affected by the oath; but what this measure did affect, was the title or designation of Christian. Of course, if they admitted into that House persons who could not declare themselves Christians, they did so far remove the exclusive title of Christian which had hitherto attached to all the measures of that House. But then came the question, what was this worth? Some persons, he knew, held that it was the great duty of rulers to make, on behalf of the nation, a true profession of religious belief. He (Mr. Cowper) did not see that this was the duty of rulers. He did not think that the Houses of Parliament were by any means summoned there to represent truth; he rather thought their duty was to represent the people [hear, hear]. He did not think they were called upon to declare and define speculative and theoretical truth; because, if they were, he considered they were as ill-constituted for that duty as it was possible to conceive [hear, hear]. He held, however, that they had not been elected with a view to that function, but that which they had been sent there for was, primarily, to represent the sentiments and wishes of the people, and endeavour to obtain for them good government, and the general prosperity of the empire. He was confirmed in this view by asking, what were the powers which that House possessed? By law, they had power over the properties and persons of the people; but if they were to attempt to exercise any power over the consciences of the people, or to strive to compel them to believe what they (the Legislature) considered to be true—if they were to attempt to occupy any higher sphere than that to which they naturally belonged—he was convinced that they would not only fail, but that they would do more mischief than good [hear, hear]. He thought that all experience had shown that the attempts to dissipate and extinguish error by compulsion and by legislative enactments had always done more to injure the truth than to promote it. Truth was "the still small voice" which became audible only to a willing ear, and which was often lost amidst the clamour which generally prevailed when they attempted to enforce it by compulsion or violence [hear, hear]. But some hon. members had said that it was very important that those who represented the State should be called upon to show an outward homage to Christianity by professing themselves Christians. He greatly doubted the value of this. Hypocrisy had been defined to be the homage which vice paid to virtue; but, for his own part, he did not think that virtue had ever been much benefited by such homage as that. He was inclined to think also, that the homage which was paid to Christianity by persons calling themselves Christians, but who were not Christians in heart and deed, and who were not fully sensible of the deep responsibility of the profession which they made, was of no advantage to Christianity, and ought not to be clung to by those who desired to see Christianity stand well with mankind at large [hear, hear].

Mr. KERR SEYMER disclaimed the imputation of being a bigot because he intended to oppose the measure. Some thought that all attachment to the Church was synonymous with persecution. Had they not religious distinctions still existing with their Roman Catholic brethren, when they would not sanction a sovereign adopting their religion?

He did not believe that the noble lord (John Russell), was himself prepared to carry it out to its full extent. How was the noble lord prepared to deal with our Roman Catholic fellow subjects? There were 8,000,000 of Roman Catholics in this country; and, according to the law and constitution, no one possessing that religion could succeed to the throne of these realms. That large body could not, under any circumstances, be governed by a sovereign of the same religious persuasion as themselves. Here was a distinction between one religious body and another. Was the noble lord prepared to abolish it? [hear, hear]. For himself, he (Mr. Seymour) had no difficulty in holding the principle of an established church, of which the sovereign was the head. He was ready to maintain all religious disabilities which were necessary to support the principle of an established church; not because he was fond of disabilities in themselves—still less because he wished to punish persons of other religious persuasions—but because they were necessary to the maintenance of the institutions of our country; so that as for the sake of the principle of an established church he was prepared to maintain the disabilities which affected 8,000,000 of Roman Catholics, so, for the sake of the still broader principle of Christianity, he was prepared to maintain those which affected 40,000 Jews [hear, hear]. The noble lord, the member for London, had sneered at the idea of making a man a "Christian by the rag-end of an oath." He (Mr. Seymour) admitted that they could not by any form of words, make a man a true Christian. Neither could they, by any code of morality, make a man truly virtuous; but this did not induce them to relax their code [hear, hear]. The hon. member who had just sat down had said that the words of the oath would still be retained for those who professed to be Christians; but he (Mr. Seymour) thought that the argument of the noble lord, if good for anything, would be equally good for its entire abolition.

He concluded by referring to the future:—

He thought that the battle of the Church of England would be fought in that House, and he knew that his right hon. friend would be foremost in the fight; but he would find it to his disadvantage that he had abandoned the principle of a Christian Legislature. Having abandoned that, he would find it more difficult to maintain the principle of a Christian Church. It had been said that, when the Church was fenced round by disabilities, her position was not so secure as when some of them were removed, and he would not altogether deny its truth; but that was no reason why they should run into an opposite extreme. By taking such a course they might cease, as had been the case with the Episcopal Church in Scotland, to have an established church; and that was a point on which he held a very strong opinion.

Mr. HORSMAN supported the bill. The barrier which excluded the Jew was founded on an act of Parliament, framed not for their exclusion, but for the exclusion of particular sects of Christians. In his opinion Jews already possessed powers more likely to affect Christianity, if they were so disposed, than a few seats in Parliament could confer upon them. The Jews already acted in vestry, and were proprietors of advowsons, and in that capacity they had the appointment of ministers of the Protestant Church. He concluded by a happy reference to Sir R. Inglis's want of faith:—

Yet a great part of the hon. baronet's political life had been passed in proclaiming the weakness of his own religion, and its possible and probable downfall ["No, no," and "Hear, hear"]. On every political occasion the panic cry regarding religion had been raised by the hon. baronet and his party. When the Test and

Corporation Acts were repealed, according to their apprehensions, the Established Church had received its death-blow. When the Roman Catholics were emancipated, they were told the sun of Protestantism was set for ever; and now it was said that if they allowed one Jew to walk up the House to that table, and to take the oath, the faith of 655 Christians was to take to itself wings and fly off to Jerusalem or Jericho [hear, hear]. If the House were to judge by the language rather than by the lives of this party, they would seem to gird themselves for the battle rather in fear than in faith. They never encountered a danger to which they were not prepared to succumb. He could see no wisdom, truth, or religion in such a course. Issuing from the bosom of the Church, and from her most favoured sons, these continual apprehensions might be pregnant with much mischief. Christianity in danger from Judaism? Did they find any ground for these apprehensions either in the past or the future—in the page of history or in the books of prophecy? Either the party who professed this alarm must exaggerate a danger which does not exist, or they must believe that Christianity was an unreal thing, frail, perishable, and unsteady—too delicate to be handled, and liable to be shaken in pieces by every ill wind that blew upon it. Politically he had no sympathy with those who would allow others to impugn the invulnerability of Christianity, which in his view required not the props of legislation to sustain it. He agreed with Locke, "that things in religion which were introduced of man required the might of man to sustain them, but the religion of God needed not human authority to enable it to stand." Christianity when it was leagued with an intolerant party, was a religion divided against itself. Her functions were, when she interfered with legislation, not to import into it a timid, but a just, generous, and liberal spirit. The perfection of Christianity, in his opinion, was the perfection of liberality [hear, hear]. He had faith in its eternal essence, and he would not suffer it to be degraded by an alliance with such carnal and unworthy apprehensions [cheers].

Mr. SPOONER replied, not only to many of the speeches previously delivered in the course of the debate, but also to Mr. Macaulay's celebrated article in the *Edinburgh Review* in favour of Jewish emancipation. He read that gentleman a severe lecture for having compared Christian government to Christian cobbler, and in the course of his remarks animadverted with some pointedness on the absence of Lord John Russell and his colleagues from the discussion on this bill, which was one of their own bantlings.

Mr. COCKBURN conceded to the opponents of this bill, that if the introduction of Jews into Parliament was dangerous either to the State or to the Church, their opposition was perfectly justifiable; but he denied their premises, and called upon them, as they refused to 40,000 of their fellow subjects the ordinary rights of Englishmen, to prove its truth. He contended that from the beginning of time to the present hour we had never had one single law, either direct or indirect, in the Constitution or in the Statute Book, which had for its object the exclusion of the Jews from Parliament. Their exclusion was not the result of legislative design, but of legislative accident, as he proved by historical reference to the various acts imposing the oaths of supremacy, abjuration, and allegiance, which were one and all directed against either Roman Catholics or the adherents of the fallen dynasty of the Stuarts, and not against the Jews.

Mr. G. BANKES contended that the exclusion of the Jews from Parliament was no dishonour to them, for, if it were, the whole clergy of the Church of England were dishonoured too; for by an act of Parliament passed within the memory of living men they had been declared incapable of sitting in Parliament. Archbishop Whately, in a speech which he made some years ago in defence of the emancipation of the Jews, had stated that in case it were granted, the purely ecclesiastical concerns of the Church, as distinct from its spiritual, should be committed to a commission, consisting exclusively of members of the Church. He, therefore, proposed to withdraw from Parliament every measure connected with the Church, and to transfer it to a separate ecclesiastical commission, which was pronounced in the Bill of Rights to be not only illegal, but positively pernicious. Was the House prepared to assent to the appointment of such a commission? If appointed, its appointment ought to be preliminary to the passing of this bill, which he understood was to be supported by another bishop besides the Archbishop of Dublin. From that circumstance would arise in our Church a schism which would be more dangerous to religion even than the admission of many Jews to Parliament.

Sir ROBERT PEEL then addressed the House. He began with an avowal that in matters of legislation and government he entertained a deep sense of religious obligation; and he admitted that between the tenets of the Christians and the Jews there is a vital difference—in essentials the two religions are more directly antagonized than any others. But even supposing that he had any authority to determine what is religious error, he certainly had no commission to punish the Jews—to punish the descendants for the sin of their fathers, not unto the third and fourth generation, but unto the three hundredth or four hundredth. Civil disability, however, is a penalty. In the case of the Roman Catholic the disability was not imposed as a penalty because he maintained the doctrine of transubstantiation, but because he was deemed a dangerous subject in consequence of his acknowledging the supremacy of a foreign prince. Sir Robert entered into a critical examination of Dr. Arnold's dictum, that Jews should have the private but not the public rights of citizens; to which he opposed the authority of Bacon, that the rights of "natural born subjects" are "complete and entire." He showed how the Jew is practically excluded from no public office—not even from the Privy Council, unless it be indirectly; so that he has already acquired the position of a British citizen with rights complete and generally recognised. The refusal to admit him to Parliament is the sole invidious exception to that position.

The hon. and learned member for Midhurst says, that we are called together to advise her Majesty on matters concerning the English Church, and because these words are inserted in the writ of summons, he argues that Jews cannot be admitted to seats in Parliament. Now, what is the answer which a Jew would give to that argument? "Surely I am as well qualified to give advice concerning the Church of England as a Quaker. I do not refuse to pay tithes [hear, hear]. I am not disqualified from discussing the question of peace or war by any religious scruples about the legality of war." [hear, hear]. If you say that the qualification to give advice concerning the Church of England is indispensable, how comes it that you have admitted the Unitarian? The Unitarian differs from you on the most essential principle of Christianity. But you have admitted him, and you have also admitted the Quaker. Why do you not take from the Jew the same declaration which you take from the Quaker? So little importance do you seem to attach to the declaration, "on the true faith of a Christian," that a Quaker is not required to make it. I asked the clerk of the House to be good enough to give me the declaration which is administered to Quakers. I apprehend that a Quaker believes all the leading doctrines of the Church of England. I do not think that he would

have objected to make an affirmation "on the true faith of a Christian;" but you have relieved him from the necessity of making it. Since the speech of mine to which the honourable member for Dorsetshire referred, important changes have taken place [hear, hear, and cheers]. The Quaker, the Moravian, and the Separatist, have been made eligible to seats in the Legislature. You say that if a Jew comes into Parliament a Mahomedan and a Hindoo must come in also; but you push the argument further than it is ever likely to advance. Will it be sufficient to say that you will keep out the Jew, because, by the law of logical deduction, you must otherwise admit the Hindoo and the Mahomedan? Sir, I apprehend, even at the point at which we stand in this debate, and after all the attention which has been paid to the subject, that the real position of the Jew is not yet quite understood. It is said that a Jew is entitled to all municipal offices, and that a Jew may be sheriff. The Jew, in two recent instances—one occurring under the present, and one under the late Government—has been admitted to high distinctions: two Jewish gentlemen, Sir Moses de Montefiore and Mr. de Rothschild, have been created baronets [hear, hear]. And I further believe, that at this moment the Jew is eligible to any executive office to which the Crown may appoint him, no matter how important may be the duties attached to that office, unless he be precluded by the oath which is administered to a Privy Councillor [hear, hear]. I apprehend that there is nothing which can prevent a Jew being Secretary of State to-morrow, except through the indirect operation of the oath required of a Privy Councillor, and there is nothing in the form of that oath to which a Jew would object. If you will but permit the Jew to take the Privy Councillor's oath on the Old Testament, the oath of the Privy Councillor will not exclude him from the Privy Council [hear, hear]. It is my conviction, therefore, that unless through the indirect operation of that oath there is not an office within the gift of the Crown from which a Jew, practically, is excluded.

The admission of the Jews would not injure the national religion:—

You have, since the year 1834, admitted to all Parliamentary functions the Quakers, the Separatists, and the Moravians, and though you have shown no jealousy of the Crown in its appointment of Jews, you exhibit such jealousy of the Christian electors of this country, that you will not permit them to send the man of their choice to this House if he be not to be a Jew [hear, hear]. Sir, my opinion is, that you cannot permanently maintain that exclusion [cheers]. You have made previous concessions with little danger to the interests of the Church, or to the interests of the Christian religion, and I do not now think it safe to insist on this only remaining exclusive [cheers]. My firm belief—and I rejoice in the conviction—is, that the Church of England is stronger at this moment than at any period within recent history [hear, hear]. I am sure that such is the condition of the Church, and I believe that the disposition which has been shown to apply timely and salutary reforms has been the great cause of that strength [hear, hear]. I believe that in this way a deep religious feeling has been awakened through the country, and I am convinced that the strength of the Church and of religion is not now dependent on the question of two or three votes, more or less, in this House [hear, hear]. I believe that the Church is strong enough to be independent on all essential points almost of the decisions of this House; it is rooted in the affections of the people. The religious feeling, daily increasing, has been increased and confirmed by the wise resolutions of the Church, to consent to reforms which at this moment constitute its effectual strength, and, therefore, it seems to me to be a disparagement, both of the religion and of the Establishment, to contend that the safety of either depends upon the continued exclusion from this assembly of the Baron de Rothschild, or of any other gentleman of the Jewish faith [cheers]. Were it not, indeed, that there are internal dissensions within the Church itself [cheers], my firm belief is, that the Church would be stronger at this moment, after all these numerous relaxations of disabling laws, than ever it was, even at the period when your required conformity to the Protestant faith as an essential condition of being a member of the Imperial Parliament [cheers].

There is no class of our fellow-beings to whom every Christian state in Europe owes such reparation for centuries of injustice, persecution, and wrong; and Sir Robert rejoiced to think that the example of England would conduce to the welfare of the Jews in other countries—would expedite their emancipation, or at least soothe them under oppression.

At the end of the debate Lord DUDLEY STUART denied the charge brought by Mr. Newdegate against Mr. Rothschild, of having expended a large sum of money in getting up petitions in favour of this measure. Lord Dudley mentioned the statistics of petitions on the bill. When it was first introduced, the signatures in its favour were 13,000—against it, 7,000; at the present time the signatures in favour are 232,000—against it, only 35,000. Mr. NEWDEGATE reiterated the charge against Mr. Rothschild.

On a division, the numbers were—

For the second reading 277
Against it 204

Majority in favour of the bill... 78

Mr. ANSTEV then gave notice that he would, on the first opportunity, move to bring up a clause to deprive the House of the power of legislating on the concerns of the Established Church of England and Scotland, without the previous consent of the Convocation in the one case, and of the General Assembly in the other [laughter].

MISCELLANEOUS.

EMIGRANT SUPERVISION.—On Thursday Mr. LABOUCHERE announced his intention of introducing a bill to make further provision for the conveyance of passengers by sea to the North American colonies.

IRISH POOR-LAW.—THE "QUARTER-ACRE" CLAUSE.—Mr. POULETT SCROPE gave notice of a bill to amend the Irish Poor-relief Extension Act by repealing the "quarter-acre" clause, and extending the power of purchasing or hiring land to be occupied with workhouses.

POOR REMOVAL.—On Thursday Mr. BAINES obtained leave to bring in a bill to amend the procedure in respect of orders for the removal of the poor in England and Wales, and appeals therefrom. The object of the bill was to amend the order of removal; to abolish obstructions arising from mere technicalities; and to give quarter-sessions power to decide on the ground of appeal. Sir CHARLES WOOD did not oppose the bill; but he did not expect that it would effect its purpose.

CUSTODY OF ACCUSED PERSONS.—On Thursday Lord NUGENT moved for leave to introduce a bill to repeal so much of the act 2 and 3 Victoria, c. 56, as empowers magistrates, under the sanction of the Home Secretary, to provide for the separate imprisonment of persons committed for trial. Lord Nugent cited evidence from the reports of the prison-inspectors, including some of the highest authorities, to prove that separate confinement is accounted by prisoners a severer punishment than the treadmill. The restrictions on prisoners, such as those controlling their correspondence with friends—proper enough in the case of convicts—are unjust to those whom the law presumes to be innocent. Mr. Baron Alderson holds that there ought to be houses of detention for untried prisoners, and distinct penitentiaries for convicted criminals. Sir GEORGE GREY opposed the motion. In the case of untried prisoners the classification is not penal, but highly protective, as it saves them from contamination and mortification. After a brief discussion, the motion was withdrawn.

RAILWAY ACCOUNTS.—In the House of Lords, on Friday, Lord MONTAGUE moved the second reading of his bill to secure the better audit of railway companies' accounts. According to his bill, the Board of Trade is empowered, on the application of a certain number of shareholders in a company, to appoint an auditor for the accounts of that company; the auditor to possess no power of inflicting penalty, but full authority to exact all needful information. Sanctioned by the Earl of GRANVILLE, Lord KINNAIRD, Lord ASHBURTON, and Earl FITZWILLIAM, the bill was read a second time.

THE CANTON DE VAUD.—In the Commons, on Thursday, Sir HARRY VERNY put a question to Lord Palmerston relating to the intolerant decree recently passed by the cantonal government of Vaud; which elicited from the noble SECRETARY the statement that representations had been made on the subject by her Majesty's chargé d'affaires in Switzerland, unofficially, because Government did not consider themselves entitled to make any authoritative demand; but these had not been attended with the desired effect.

NOTICES OF MOTION.—Lord DUNCAN for a repeal of the window-tax, Feb. 24; Sir J. PAKINGTON a bill for the better prevention of bribery at elections; Mr. EWART, in a month from Thursday last, to move for leave to bring in a bill for the total repeal of the punishment of death; also that, on that day fortnight, he would move for leave to bring in a bill to establish a power of appeal in criminal cases. The hon. member also gave notice that (unless the Government introduced such a principle into their approaching financial measures) he would renew the motion he made last year, "for the substitution of a more direct system of taxation for the indirect system now in use."

GREAT YARMOUTH ELECTION COMMITTEE.—On Monday, Mr. K. SEYMOUR reported from the committee on the Great Yarmouth election petition that Lord A. LENNOX and O. E. COOTE, Esq., were not duly elected, that the election was void, that the hon. gentlemen named had been (through their agents) guilty of bribery at the last election, but that there was no evidence to show that such acts of bribery had been committed with their knowledge, that gross and systematic bribery prevailed at the last and preceding election, especially among the freemen, and the committee were unanimously of opinion that the freemen of the borough should be disfranchised, and that no new writ be issued until legislative measures have been taken for the purpose of such disfranchisement.

MARRIAGES IN INDIA.—In answer to Mr. C. LUSHINGTON, Mr. C. LEWIS intimated that the subject of marriages in India, performed by Protestant Dissenters, not in holy orders, had been referred to the committee on marriages.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.—Lord JOHN RUSSELL, in reply to Mr. HORSMAN, said he concurred in the opinion that the present mode of apportioning the incomes of the high dignitaries of the Church was unsatisfactory, and thought that Parliament might devise a far better arrangement with respect both to the payment by the commissioners to the bishops, and by the bishops to the commissioners. He therefore thought it proper to give notice to any future Archbishop of Canterbury, that he must accept his archbishopric subject to any subsequent ecclesiastical arrangements which might be made by Parliament. The assigned salary to be, as previously proposed, £15,000 a year. Mr. HORSMAN expressed the opinion that the statement of the noble lord was perfectly satisfactory.

THE NEW HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.—A protracted discussion ensued, at the instance of Mr. OSBORNE, relative to the new Houses of Parliament, the delay in their completion, and the extent to which the expenses had already gone beyond Mr. Barry's original estimate. Lord MORPETH admitted that the building was an expensive one, and that it had, in that respect, exceeded the original estimate. But, under all the circumstances, this could hardly have been otherwise, and the architect was prepared to stand the test of any contrast whatever, with any building erected in this country in modern times, either with reference to its cost of construction, the speed of its erection, or the effect of its appearance. From the circumstances in which he had been placed, the architect had himself had to sustain nearly all the responsibility of the undertaking, which he was anxious to make a credit and a glory to the country. Sir R. PEEL thought economy in such a case bad policy. After considerable discussion the subject was dropped.

Mr. CHOLMONDELY having declined to defend his return (it being a double one) for the Montgomery district of burghs, on the motion of Sir ROBERT PEEL, the Clerk of the Crown was ordered to attend and insert the name of Mr. PUGH accordingly.

Mr. ANSTAY postponed his motion for papers for the impeachment of Lord Palmerston, for a fortnight.

A NEW WRIT was ordered for the city of Waterford, in the room of Mr. D. O'Connell, who has accepted the Chiltern Hundreds.

THE LATE JOSEPH TAYLOR, Esq., OF LEEDS.—The funeral of this most estimable gentleman took place on Monday noon, at the Leeds General Cemetery. We understand he has bequeathed the following legacies for purposes which he had much at heart during his life:—To the London Missionary Society, £500; West Riding Home Missionary Society, £250; Aged Ministers' Fund, £250; Widows of Deceased Ministers' Fund, £100; Leeds Town Mission, £200; Harrogate and Knaresboro' Town Mission, £100; Leeds Infirmary, £250; House of Recovery, Leeds, £250; Leeds Public Dispensary, £100; Harrogate Hospital, £100; Leeds Branch of the British and Foreign Bible Society, £100; together with several other legacies to religious and benevolent objects, all free of legacy duty. Mr. Taylor has also directed that a year's subscription shall be paid to each of the public institutions of the above nature to which he has been in the habit of subscribing.—*Leeds Mercury.*

FOREIGN AND COLONIAL NEWS.

FRANCE.

THE REFORM DEBATE.

The debate in the Chamber of Deputies on the Reform banquets was resumed on Tuesday. M. Duchatel declared that the determination of the Government was not only not to grant or to promise any reform, but to prevent any reform banquets for the future. On making this announcement, he was saluted with tremendous uproar, and cries from the left of "This is as bad as Charles the Tenth!" ("C'est Charles Dix tout pur!") M. Cremieux called out, amidst thunders of applause, "There is blood in it;" and M. Odillon Barrot solemnly reminded the Ministers, that "the moment was dangerous," and that they might look out for revolution.

On Wednesday, M. Hebert concluded a heavy speech on the same subject thus—"We shall apply the law against you, and we shall see which, you or the Government, will be found to be wrong. But the Cabinet will not endeavour to prolong its existence to the detriment of peace and tranquillity." The excitement was so great that upwards of sixty members threatened to resign their seats if the phrase about "blind passions" were retained. M. Thiers endeavoured to restrain the Gauche; but the commotion both in the Chambers and the country appeared to be rising beyond his control.

On Thursday the debate was more moderate in tone till towards the close, when there was a scene of extraordinary uproar. MM. Guizot, Thiers, and Odillon Barrot each made short speeches. The former attempted to prove the moderation of the Government majority, by showing that if it pushed its power to the utmost, it might take away from the Opposition the liberty of expressing opinions hostile to the Government, even in the Legislature. Against this strange declaration, M. Thiers protested with great vehemence, and declared that the right of all the deputies of the nation to express their opinions in their place in Parliament, was as sacred as Royalty itself. He declared that he would not accept that right as a concession from the majority, and that he could not repress the indignation he felt at the manner in which it had been attacked by the head of the Government. M. Guizot made no reply to this, for the reproach was not only true, but it came from an unexpected quarter. M. Thiers and his party had been hitherto exceedingly cold upon the subject of the reform banquets, and had taken no part in the discussion; but the extreme length to which the Government have pushed their right to exercise arbitrary powers, in order to put down the banquets, has raised the indignation of even the most moderate. The sitting, after lasting till near eight o'clock (an uncommonly late hour for the French Chambers), adjourned in a state of extraordinary agitation till the following day.

On Friday, M. Desmousseux de Givré, a Conservative, who has usually supported the Government, proposed an amendment, which consisted in the mere omission of the offensive terms, leaving the paragraph of the address censuring the reform banquets otherwise unaltered. M. de Lamartine followed in a powerful speech, in the course of which he described the system of peaceful and constitutional agitation for parliamentary reform now prevailing in France, and which the present Cabinet vainly thinks of putting down by brute force. The scene exhibited at the conclusion of his speech was sufficiently agitated, but it was tranquil compared with other intervals of the discussion. After speeches from MM. Rémusat, Dufaure, and Duchâtel, at length at half-past seven in the evening the question was called for. Amidst the most profound silence, the President said, "Je consulte la Chambre," and called on those who supported the amendment of Monsieur de Givré to rise. Apparently half the Chamber instantly rose. M. Sauzet then called on those to sit down, and those who opposed the amendment to rise. Half the Chamber again rose from their seats. No description that can be given can convey an adequate notion of the tumult which followed this. Some shouted, the president among the number, for another division, by rising and sitting, while others vociferated for a division. Others again screamed for a division by ballot. The Chamber exhibited the utmost confusion. Deputies left their seats and collected in groups, some around M. Odillon Barrot, others around MM. Guizot and Duchâtel. A division was finally made, on which it appeared that there were—for the amendment 185 votes, and against it 228, giving a majority of 43 for the ministry. The original paragraph being put, the opposition withdrew in a body, declining to vote. On the occasion of the division the president of the Chamber exercised his power of voting, and, of course, voted with the cabinet. This raised another storm of indignation among the opposition, which came to a spontaneous resolution never again to appear at the receptions of the president. A deputy of the opposition signified this resolution to M. Sauzet: approaching M. Sauzet, he said, "You have closed your doors against a large section of the Chamber, which will regard you henceforward, not as the president of the Chamber, but as the president of a faction." It is stated in some of the Opposition journals that the members of that party have resolved henceforward to abstain from the receptions at the Tuileries.

In the sitting of the Chamber of Deputies on Saturday, M. Salandronze's amendment on the address was rejected by 206 to 189, which leaves a majority in favour of the Ministers of only 33 votes. The object of the amendment of M. Salandronze was to express a wish on the part of the legislature for parliamentary reform. It was strongly opposed by M. Guizot. He refused to make any promise for the future, but added, that he and his colleagues would exert themselves in the interest of the Conservative party, to re-unite, by a common compromise, the different fractions which composed it. If they failed, and were unable to effect a reconciliation, they would retire. This declaration produced great agitation, and the discussion was suspended half an hour. M. Thiers contended that it was evident that, on the great question which now agitated France, neither the Government, which ought to direct the country, nor the majority, who had the pretension to represent it, had any fixed opinion. The Opposition

alone thought and acted for the Government and the majority. The success of the measure, he was, however, happy to say, was certain, and it is now a mere question of time. After the rejection of M. Salandronze's amendment, the vote was taken on the *ensemble* of the address, and the Opposition having declined to take part in it, the address was carried by a majority of 241 to 3.

Last session the Ministerial majority was 130. The *Journal des Débats* of Saturday, admits that reform is inevitable next session.

RESOLUTION OF THE OPPOSITION MEMBERS.—The Opposition, emboldened by their display of numbers on the recent division, have determined to brave the menace of Government, and hold a reform meeting in Paris. Upwards of one hundred deputies met on Sunday, in the Place Madeleine, and agreed upon the terms of a manifesto, which they published in the journals of Monday. This document declares that the recent Ministerial address constitutes a flagrant and audacious violation of the rights of the deputies—that it infringes the sacred principles of the constitution—that it violates, through the deputies, the essential rights of the citizens, and is calculated to spread disorder through the country. The Opposition declare their determination to combat what they regard as a counter-revolution, and to defend by all legal means the rights of meeting assailed by Ministers. A committee of deputies was appointed to carry out those views of the meeting; a protest was recorded against the arbitrary acts of the Government; and it was further resolved unanimously that no member should consent to join the deputation of address to the Tuileries. This manifesto appears to have alarmed the Ministry of Louis Philippe; for the *Journal des Débats* hastens to assure the public that the Government will soon introduce a reform bill, and supplicates the Opposition to suspend the agitation which already presents so formidable a front. The reply to this is in the fact that the reform banquet appointed to be held is to take place in the heart of Paris. The mayors of arrondissements in Paris, who belong to the Opposition, signified their intended resignation if Government persist in obstructing the reform meetings. A report was current that the Prefect of the Seine had already resigned. On Sunday sixty officers of the national guard sent an address to the Opposition deputies, in which they offer their services as an escort to the reform banquets, and as a guard against any obstruction to the fulfilment of the intended demonstration.

OMINOUS PREPARATIONS.—The detached forts so ardently longed for by the Court are (writes the Paris correspondent of the *Times*) capable of being in a few hours put into a condition to attain the end for which they have been created, namely, to prevent ingress to or egress from Paris—for the actual bombardment of the city can never take place under any circumstances. The Government is moreover provided with a fine army in Paris—including a *corps d'élite*, called the "Municipal Guard," and the people are disarmed. Every barrack and military post has been for the last three days abundantly supplied with ball cartridge. To make head against such a force and such means would appear impossible. A portion of the National Guard might concur in an insurrection, but could not stand against the army, if the army would act against them. The detached forts could, as I have said, if they be intended for anything more than places of refuge, prevent the entrance of provisions into the capital, and thus the malcontents of Paris would appear incapable of attacking the Government with effect, and sure to be reduced to obedience by famine.

The Reform dinner is to take place to-morrow or Sunday next.

AUSTRIA.

The cabinet of Vienna has put forth another manifesto in the *Austrian Observer*, in the same spirit as former articles, attacking Switzerland as the focus of radicalism, and eulogizing the policy of the Austrian cabinet.

There has been a serious *émeute* at Vienna, in the course of which the windows of the house of one of the Archdukes were broken.

Disorders of a very serious nature have occurred at Grätz and Bruck in Styria. Four thousand peasants had revolted, and it was found necessary to call out a large body of troops; no collision had as yet taken place.

ITALY.

CONSTITUTIONS PROMISED TO SARDINIA, PIEMONTE, AND ROME.

On the 6th of February the Municipality of Turin had voted an address to the King, declaring that, after what had passed in Naples, nothing less than a representative government would satisfy the nation. At Genoa there was a similar manifestation. M. Guizot's portrait was burnt at Turin in the presence of 8,000 persons. On the morning of the 6th the King called around him all the princes, with whom he held a conference of several hours. On Monday morning (the 7th) he convoked a council of ministers, to which also all the councillors of state were summoned. While this council was sitting the municipal council came to the palace to present the address which had been resolved on. Meanwhile the whole population filled the streets around the palace, waiting in breathless suspense and confident expectation, but observing the most admirable order and maintaining absolute tranquillity. At this time the deputation from Genoa, to lay a petition for a constitution at the foot of the throne, was hourly expected at Turin, and similar addresses were preparing in all the chief places. These petitions were destined, however, to be anticipated, for in the royal council held that day (the 7th), and as it would appear before the presentation of the address of the municipal council, the measure was resolved on, and the draft of the proclamation prepared, announcing the important fact that the King of Sardinia, following the example of the King of Naples, had promised a Constitution to his States, on the principles of the French Constitution.

The Grand Duke of Tuscany had also promised a constitution to his subjects.

Letters from Rome, of the 2d instant, announce that the Pope intended to grant constitutional institutions to his people. His Holiness had sent for Father Ventura,

who had of late retired from public affairs, to consult him on the subject.

Advices from Bologna, of the 4th instant, state that the proclamation of the constitution at Naples had been celebrated there by a grand *fête*, in which the authorities themselves had joined. The people cried, "Down with the Doctrinaires! Viva the Constitution! Death to the Austrians! Let us march to the assistance of our brethren in Lombardy."

A letter from Venice, of the 2nd instant, states that the "Volcano" steamer had left that port, having on board a number of men to complete the crews of the Austrian fleet in the Adriatic. The captain of the steamer sailed under sealed orders.

In Lombardy the enthusiasm is still unabated, though the large force under the orders of Field-Marshal Radetzky prevents a popular demonstration. On Sunday, the 6th instant, no less than 30,000 persons went to the cathedral at the last mass, which was celebrated on behalf of the inhabitants of Palermo who were killed during the bombardment. The vast crowd, all of whom could not enter the cathedral, calmly separated after divine service, and not the least disorder occurred during the grand manifestation.

A statistical account of the population of Italy, up to the end of last year, gives the following numbers—the Two Sicilies, 8,566,900; Piedmont and Sardinia, 4,879,000; Roman States, 2,877,000; Tuscany and Lucca, 1,701,700; Monaco, 7,580; San Marino, 7,950; Modena, 483,000; Parma and Placentia, 477,000; Venetian Lombardy, 4,759,000; Italian Tyrol, 522,608; Istria, 485,000; total, 24,567,238.

The Tuscan journals affirm that Austria has demanded possession of Alessandria from the King of Sardinia, and has been refused.

SWITZERLAND.

MEASURES AGAINST THE LATE SONDERBUND.—In the sitting of the Swiss Diet of the 9th instant, the Committee of Nine made the following propositions:—1. That the cantons of the late Sonderbund which have not yet paid up their proportion of the expenses of the war be required to do so on or before the 20th instant, at the latest; 2. That such cantons as shall fail in making this payment within the prescribed time, in a manner satisfactory to the federal government, shall be occupied by the federal troops, which will in that case be supported and paid by such cantons respectively; and, 3. That the federal staff shall be dissolved.

THE MONKS OF ST. BERNARD.—We read in the *Suisse*:—"According to information, which we have reason to think well founded, the Government of Turin has not approved of the conduct of the monks of St. Bernard. It has been proved that they quitted their establishment without serious cause, and thus abandoned their duties, and that it was at their solicitation that the people of the valley of Aoste assisted them in devastating the building. They had received a piece of advice, which they now appear disposed to follow, namely, to return to their establishment, and take back the effects which they had carried off."

THE TWO SICILIES.

Accounts from Naples of the 4th bring news from Palermo of the 3rd. The Sicilians have accepted the Constitution of 1812, as offered by the King; but on condition that the Prince Royal should be nominated viceroy of Sicily, and that a Parliament should sit at Palermo. A general amnesty has been granted to all political offenders excepting the *émigrés* implicated in the affair of 1821. All the fortresses of Sicily have been given up to the people of Palermo, and the King's troops have returned to Naples. The city of Naples was perfectly quiet.

The miserable wreck of the fine Neapolitan army assembled at Palermo had, with their commander, the Duke of Majo, and General de Sauzet, reached Naples, having by a mere chance escaped being cut to pieces to a man. All the troops quartered at Messina were withdrawn into the citadel, in the neighbourhood of which there had been an engagement, in which the troops lost fifty men. The killed and wounded on the side of the troops in Sicily were said to be about 500. The prisoners captured by the insurgents were 1,500.

The King of Naples had fixed the 7th for the solemnity of inaugurating the new charter and taking the oaths of the constitution. The ceremony was to be conducted with the utmost military pomp in the Champ de Mars. Lord Minto arrived at Naples on the 3rd.

NORTH AMERICA.

RUMOUR OF PEACE.—We have advices from New York to the 29th ult. The all-absorbing topics of conversation in New York were the rumoured fact of Mr. Trist's having concluded terms of peace with Mexico, and the recall of General Scott. The rumours respecting Mr. Trist—which, indeed, were all but confirmed—were to the effect that he had, notwithstanding his recall, been in secret negotiation with the commissioners of Mexico for a treaty of peace, and that they had actually come to an agreement upon the terms of such treaty—subject, of course, to the ratification of both Governments. The terms, it is stated, are nearly identical with those previously refused by the Mexicans. The following are the terms offered by the United States in the last unsuccessful negotiation:—

1st. The Rio Grande, from the Gulf to the intersection with the southern boundary of New Mexico, in about latitude 32.

2nd. The cession of the provinces of New Mexico and the Californias; and

3rd. The right of way across the isthmus of Tehuantepec.

The first two points were considered as a *sine qua non*, upon compliance with which the American negotiator was authorized to stipulate for the restoration to Mexico of all other conquests; and, further, for the payment of such additional pecuniary consideration over and above the amount of claims upon Mexico as might be deemed reasonable.

Congress is still in full deliberation upon the measures for continuing the war with Mexico. The bill asking for the ten new regiments is still in the Senate. If the Administration can carry all their proposed measures through Congress (says the New York correspondent of the *Times*) the consequence will be, that they will annihilate Mexico as a state, and annex the whole, nominally, as a part of the federal union, but really as a colony, without political influence or power, governed entirely by a military despotism, with a standing army of 60,000 or 60,000 bayonets, ready to be used at any time, and at all times, to sustain the mandates of the one man in power.

An important amendment had been carried in the House of Representatives. Unencumbered by the other matters on which it was engrafted, it reads thus:—"That the war with Mexico was unnecessarily and unconstitutionally begun by the President of the United States." This was carried by 85 yeas to 81 nays.

The President had appointed a Court of Inquiry, to sit at Perote, to investigate General Scott's charges against General Pillow and Colonel Duncan; the same Court afterwards to investigate General Worth's charges against General Scott. The fact of the recall of General Scott was officially made known to the Senate by Mr. Cass on the 26th.

The dates from Mexico are to the end of December. By last accounts from Queretaro, under date Dec. 20, the Government was doing all in its power to assemble the new congress. At that date about thirty of the new deputies had already arrived, and by the 5th or 10th of January there would not only be a quorum, but nearly if not the whole of the congress present; there would be no opposition to the negotiation of a peace, except among the deputies from the states of San Luis de Potosi and Jalisco. The new president Herrera is known to be in favour of immediate negotiations. General Scott had issued an order, assessing upon the states of Mexico occupied by the United States troops an annual tax amounting to about 3,000,000 dollars.

CANADA.—The result of the general election has been the return of an overwhelming majority hostile to the present (by the time we write it may be the late) Ministers. There are said to be only nineteen Ministers, against fifty-two Opposition and seven doubtful. Of course no action could be taken, in this state of affairs, till the House of Assembly met; but it was understood on all hands that Ministers would resign as soon as the legislature met. Lists of the new Ministry were being handed about; some were more, others less complete; some presented variations of the general theme; but the main features of all were the same. All concur in representing that Mr. Sullivan is to be president of the council, M. Lafontaine provincial secretary, and Mr. Baldwin attorney-general for Canada West. Mr. Caron is named in all as president of the legislative council; M. Morin, in one or two, as speaker of the House of Assembly; Mr. Aylwin is mentioned in some lists as attorney-general for Canada East. Some put in Mr. Hinckes, some Mr. Holmes, and one M. Morin, as inspector-general. These are Cabinet officers. Mr. Blake is announced as solicitor-general for Canada West; M. Dumas, by some, and Mr. Boulton, by others, for Canada East.

LITERATURE.

THE PERIODICALS (FEBRUARY).

(Continued from last week.)

THE NORTH BRITISH REVIEW has no less than ten papers, which will gratify readers of various tastes. The literary man will turn to the "Sketch of Goethe," or to the sportive, rollicking article, entitled "Criticism's Christmas Carol;" the polemic, to the "Exposure of the Mariolatry of the Church of Rome;" for the followers of "the gentle art," there is a whole chapter on "Angling;" the practical man may study "The Scotch Marriage Bill," the subject of "Settlement, and Poor-law Removal," and also of "Colonization from Ireland;"—and, for the scientific reader, there is a very interesting "Sketch of the Life and Discoveries of Sir John Herschel." The portrait of Dr. Chalmers, in the review of his posthumous works, has disappointed us. Its mannerism is intense, and it is altogether wanting in that quality which the writer ascribes to one of Dr. Chalmers' works, "The charm of multitude in unity, of variety in harmony; and that sort of unexpectedness and ease of movement which we see everywhere in nature and in natural men." "Another review of the Hampden controversy!" we fancy we hear the reader exclaiming. Yes, it is even so; but we can promise that it is full of point, and contains some sound reflections. Among other things, Archbishop Whately is censured for his bad taste in interfering in the matter, and still more, for repeated violation of his own "Rules of Logic." There is also an allusion to the current rumour, that the Rev. Montague Villiers would have been the Bishop of Manchester, but for the opposition of a certain Bishop to whom his evangelical sentiments were distasteful. Those Churchmen who may be chuckling over the defeat of the Tractarians are warned that they may yet suffer from the recoil of the successful blow, and that it behoves them not to "whistle until they are out of the wood." The evangelical party, in particular, are reminded that the same weapons which have just been so effectively employed against the Puseyites, may one day be used for their undoing, and are urged to retreat from position where they cannot longer remain with safety or honour.

THE APPEAL OF THE DIRECTORS OF THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.—On Saturday week, the subscriptions raised amounted to upwards of £3,800, of which £3,000 had been subscribed in London, and the remainder in the country.—*Patriot*.

THE CRICKET STEAM-BOAT ACCIDENT.—In the Sheriff's Court, London, on Thursday, Mr. Smith, the owner of the above vessel, was cast in £200 damages, on the suit of a youth named Redgrave (who sued by his next friend, his father), for injuries sustained by the bursting of the boiler and the blowing up of the said boat on the river Thames, on the 27th of August last; and in two sums of £50 each on the suit of the father and his wife.

LANCASHIRE PLAN OF EDUCATION.—On Sunday evening, the Rev. J. R. Stephens delivered a discourse against this scheme, to nearly 2,000 people, in the large meeting-room, Charlestown, Ashton.—*Leeds Mercury*.

BIRTHS.

Feb. 5, at Royston, the wife of Mr. R. E. FORSAITH, minister, of a son.

Feb. 6, Mrs. JOHN R. LEWIS, of Combe-villa, Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire, of a daughter, still-born.

Feb. 7, at Basingstoke, Mrs. ALFRED JOHNSON, of a daughter.

Feb. 14, the wife of Mr. GEORGE DOWMAN, chemist, Southampton, of a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

Feb. 1, at Bramfield, Suffolk, JOSEPH, son of T. FRY, Esq., of Cannon-street, to EMILY, second daughter of R. HAWARD, Esq., of Bramfield.

Feb. 6, at the Baptist Chapel, Bishops Stortford, by B. Hodgkins, Mr. W. C. GILBY, tailor, of Buntingford, to HELEN TURNER, of Bishops Stortford.

Feb. 7, at the Congregational Chapel, Henley-on-Thames, by Mr. J. Rowland, minister, Mr. CHARLES ROBINSON, of Camden-town, to LUCY GAMMON, of Skirmitt, Bucks.

Feb. 8, at the Independent Chapel, Oswestry, by Mr. J. Davies, minister, THOMAS SIDES to JANE HUGHES, both of the parish of Oswestry.

Feb. 8, at the Congregational Church, John-street, Royston, by Mr. R. E. Forsaith, minister, J. P. SAMSON, Esq., of Great Chesterford, Essex, to JANE, only surviving daughter of the late J. FORDHAM, Esq., of Kelshall, Herts.

Feb. 9, at the Trinity Chapel, Arundel, by Mr. John E. Ashby, minister, Mr. CHARLES BARTLETT to EMMA, second daughter of C. NEW, Esq., of Arundel, now for many years a deacon of the Independent church in that place.

Feb. 9, by license, at the Independent Chapel, Brierley-hill, Staffordshire, by Mr. J. Parsons, minister, Mr. GEORGE C. TUTINO, of Beverley, to Mrs. PATFORD, of Brierley-hill. This being the first marriage celebrated in this chapel, a splendid Bible was presented to the newly-married pair.

Feb. 9, at the Great Meeting, Leicester, by Mr. C. Berry, minister, J. F. HOLLINGS, Esq., to SARA, second daughter of the late Mr. John Biggs, of that town.

Feb. 9, at Scarborough, JAMES, son of T. FRY, Esq., of Cannon-street, to AMELIA, youngest daughter of J. BARRETT, Esq., of Scarborough.

Feb. 10, at Stockwell Independent Chapel, by Mr. D. Thomas, minister, JOHN JENKINS, Esq., of Plymouth-grove, Manchester, and Fulshaw, Cheshire, to ELIZABETH ANN, only daughter of J. IMRAY, Esq., of Brixton, Surrey.

Feb. 12, at the Independent Chapel, Holywell, by Mr. D. W. Jones, minister, Mr. O. WILLIAMS to Miss G. WILLIAMS.

DEATHS.

Jan. 29, at Ramsgate, in her 35th year, Mrs. ELIZABETH SKRIMSHIRE, after a few weeks' illness. Also, Feb. 3, Mr. WILLIAM W. SKRIMSHIRE, husband of the above, who only survived his wife 87 days: they were both members of the Baptist church in Cavendish street, Ramsgate.

Jan. 29, in Madrid, MARY, the wife of Dr. JAMES THOMPSON formerly in South America, the West Indies, &c.

Feb. 1, at Truro, aged 66, Mr. WILLIAM MOORE, the highly-esteemed pastor of the Independent church in that town.

Feb. 5, at Shanklin, Isle of Wight, Mr. S. BARKOWS, minister, leaving a widow and seven children. His remains were interred in the cemetery of the Congregational Church at Brading, by the six Independent ministers of the island, who are endeavouring to alleviate the circumstances of the bereaved family.

Feb. 5, at Aberdeen, in his 74th year, Mr. WILLIAM THOMSON, the beloved father of Mr. R. Thomson, A.M., of Ilfracombe, and of Mr. A. Thomson, A.M. of Glasgow.

Feb. 6, aged 27, MARY ANN, the beloved wife of Mr. F. FULLER, of Alfred-street, Islington.

Feb. 7, in her 11th year, MARIANNE, the only daughter of T. LEE, Esq., of Hackney.

Feb. 8, in his 88th year, WILLIAM REID, Esq., of Warwick-place, Peckham-rye, Surrey, and late of Old Compton-street, Soho-square.

Feb. 8, in his 76th year, JOHN BUTTER, Esq., of the Hackney-road, of an illness consequent upon his great exertions at the recent election of Mr. Osborne for Middlesex.

Feb. 11, at Ely, aged 6 months, CHARLES JAMES, the only child of Mr. C. CLAXTON.

TRADE AND COMMERCE.

Friday, February 11.

The following buildings are certified as places duly registered for solemnizing marriages, pursuant to an act of the 6th and 7th William IV., c. 85:—

The Tabernacle, Aberystwith, Cardiganshire.
Smyrna Chapel, Bishop Wearmouth, Durham.
Zion Chapel, Bishop Wearmouth.
Bethesda Free Chapel, Bishop Wearmouth.

BANKRUPTS.

BRYSON, CHARLES, 15, Broad-street-buildings, City, general dealer, February 22, March 17: solicitor, Mr. J. Spyer, 30, Broad-street-buildings.

BURNSIDE, JOSEPH, Richmond, timber merchant, February 26, March 18: solicitors, Mr. Simpson, Richmond; and Messrs. Barr and Co., Leeds.

COOKSON, WILLIAM, Manchester, joiner, February 24, March 16: solicitors, Messrs. Pittendreich and Stevenson, 14, South-square, Gray's-inn, London; and Mr. Wallace, solicitor, Manchester.

CURTIS, WILLIAM, Cheltenham, auctioneer, February 25, March 21: solicitor, Mr. Packwood, Cheltenham.

GRYLLS, JOHN ISAIAH, STURMS, WILLIAM, and COUSENS, RICHARD BOOTY, Llanelly, engineers, February 21, March 23: solicitor, Mr. Grove, Llanelly.

HARRIS, BENJAMIN, Tewkesbury, corn merchant, February 24, March 23: solicitors, Messrs. Chandler and Co., Tewkesbury.

HOPWOOD, EDWARD, Birmingham, coach spring maker, February 22, March 24: solicitor, Mr. J. Powell, Birmingham.

JONES, CHARLES LEICESTER, and COLE, ROBERT, 268, Oxford-street, cheesemongers, February 18, March 21: solicitor, Mr. Murray, London-street.

KEON, JAMES, and HARRISON, THOMAS, Manchester, cap manufacturers, February 21, March 13: solicitors, Messrs. Beddome and Weir, 27, Nicholas-lane, London; and Mr. C. S. Smyth, Manchester.

KITTO, CHARLES, 42, Ferdinand-street, Hampstead-road, retailer of beer, February 22, March 17: solicitors, Messrs. Simpson and Cobb, 62, Moorgate-street, City.

OWEN, ELLEN, and OWEN, GRIFFITH, Holyhead, drapers, February 29, March 14: solicitors, Mr. Oliver, Old Jewry, London; and Messrs. Evans and Son, Liverpool.

PEARCE, WILLIAM, Croydon, tailor, February 18, March 27: solicitors, Messrs. Hill and Matthews, St. Mary-axe.

RADLA, JOHN STEELE, Barnard Castle, tanner, February 17, March 23: solicitors, Messrs. Fry and Co., 80, Chesapeake, London; and Messrs. Laws and Glynn, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

SWIFT, JOSEPH, and SWIFT, TOM NORTH, Huddersfield, chemists, February 4, March 30: solicitors, Messrs. Wigglesworth and Co., Gray's-inn, London; and Mr. J. Chronheim, Leeds.

TIPPING, THOMAS, Liverpool, corn dealer, February 25, March 23: solicitors, Mr. Nethersole, New-inn, London; and Mr. Owen, Liverpool.

WAKE, ROBERT, Kingston-upon-Hull, merchant, February 23, March 15: solicitors, Messrs. Wells and Smith, Hull.

WILLMOTT, THOMAS, 17, Upper Eaton-street, Pimlico, surgeon, February 25, March 26: solicitor, Mr. Smith, New Inn.

WOOLF, AARON, Brighton, furniture broker, February 25, March 21: solicitor, Mr. J. Spyer, 30, Broad-street-buildings.

WOOLF, LEMON, and WOOLF, MOSKES, Penzance, brewers, February 24, March 22: solicitors, Mr. J. Roscorla, Penzance; Mr. J. Stogden, Exeter; and Messrs. Coode and Co., Bedford-row, London.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

BOWIE, WILLIAM, Falkirk, grocer, February 16, March 8.

HAMILTON, WILLIAM, Paisley, bleacher, February 18, March 17.

HERDMAN, JOHN, Edinburgh, baker, February 17, March 16.

MACARTHUR, JAMES, Glasgow, merchant, February 15, March 7.

M'LAUREN, ALEXANDER, and Co., Glasgow, fish curers, February 18, March 10.

MEANON, MAGNUS GILBERT LAING, Edinburgh, insurance broker, February 17, March 17.

ROBERTSON, CHARLES, and Co., Aberdeen, china merchants, February 18, March 10.

ROBERTSON, DAVID, Aberdeen, late insurance broker, February 17, March 9.

DIVIDENDS.

William Sykes, Old and New Catherine Wheel-yards, Bishops-gate-street, and of 17, Saville-place, Mile-end, carrier, first div. of 5s.; at 1, Guildhall-chambers, February 16, and following Wednesday.

NO. 8, KING WILLIAM-STREET, CITY.—THE TEA DUTY.—It is now definitely settled, by the letter of Lord John Russell to Mr. Cardwell, M.P., in which he announces that "however willing he might be to reduce that duty, the state of the revenue will not permit it for the present year." We can, therefore, with confidence, recommend all consumers of tea to lay their orders with the merchants, as it is impossible for tea to be cheaper. The great loss the merchants are now sustaining cannot long continue, though we have yet to learn whether the Chinese can take lower prices; however, purchases for the present year must be safe. The large sums of capital unemployed have already attracted the attention of speculators to this article; the chances are, therefore, that it may tend to higher rates. Colonial produce is somewhat dearer, but not sufficiently to cause any change in our prices. Rice, Sago, Tapioca, and Arrowroot, are lower than at any previous period. The strong useful Congou at 3s. 2d. per lb., and the fine Hyson at 3s. 8d., will be found, from their excellent quality, well worth attention.

BLACK TEA.		GREEN TEA.	
	Per lb.		Per lb.
	s. d. s. d.		s. d. s. d.
Good sound Congou.	2 10 to 3 0	Good Twankay to	
Strong useful Congou	3 2	Hyson kind.....	3 2 to 3 4
Fine Congou Pekoe.		Genuine Hyson.....	3 6
Souchong flavour..	3 6	Fine Hyson, recom-	
Finest Congou im-		mended.....	3 8
ported.....	4 0	Very fine Hyson....	4 8
		Superfine Hyson....	5 0
		Strong Gunpowder..	4 0 to 4 4
		Fine Gunpowder....	4 8
COFFEE.			
Common Coffee....	0 8 to 0 10		
Finest Ceylon.....	0 11		
Plantation ditto...	1 1 to 1 3		
Finest Costa Rica..	1 4		
Choice old Mocha;			
this is the finest			
imported.....	1 6		
MISCELLANEOUS.			
Finest Pearl Sago..	0 2 1/2 per lb.		
Tapioca, good.....	0 5		
Best Tapioca.....	0 6		
Finest West India			
Arrowroot.....	0 10		
Best Mustard, in tin			
foil.....	1 4		
Best Carolina Rice..	0 4		
Isinglass, best picked	14 6		
Best Brown Candy..	0 10 1/2		

The system of business adopted at this establishment obviates a difficulty to which families have long been subject, that of not being able to obtain raw and refined sugar at the same house. Our supplying these important articles and colonial produce, combined with the excellence of our teas and coffees, has obtained for us a large and increasing trade, a satisfactory proof that we were right in supposing that there was ample room for an establishment based on this principle,—not of selling a few, but every article at a small per centage on import prices. Terms, cash on delivery of goods. Orders from the country, if accompanied with a reference in London, a remittance on receipt of the goods will be sufficient.

The carts and vans of this establishment punctually deliver all goods as under, the orders for which families are respectfully requested to send at least one day previous to delivery. To the west-end, Islington, the Borough, the whole of London, and the city daily.

To Bayswater and Kensington every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. To Chelsea and Brompton every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday.

To the east-end of London, Wapping, Shadwell, Poplar, Blackwall, Bow, and Stratford, every Thursday. To the suburbs one day each week.

PHILLIPS AND CO., 8, King William-street, City, corner of Abchurch-lane, facing the London Life Association.—No. 8

JOHN CASSELL'S COFFEES OF SURPASSING STRENGTH AND RICHNESS OF FLAVOUR.

JOHN CASSELL, of Abchurch-lane, London, is now making the most extensive arrangements for the purpose of supplying the people of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with Coffees of the world's finest growths, upon terms ordinarily paid for very inferior descriptions. He is appointing Agents in every town and locality throughout the kingdom, who will be constantly supplied with fresh roasted and fresh ground Coffee, packed in lead upon scientific principles, in quantities of from two ounces to one pound, so as to preserve effectually its strength and aroma. A list of the Agents will shortly be published.

The difficulty of obtaining good Coffee has long been a source of complaint. While our continental neighbours have been well supplied with this article, the people of England have been badly supplied. **JOHN CASSELL** has determined that this state of things shall exist no longer: the Englishman and his family may henceforth be on a par with the Frenchman, and be able to obtain—if he only applies to the Agent of **JOHN CASSELL**—Coffees of surpassing richness, strength, and flavour. The following are the prices at which these Coffees are supplied:—

JOHN CASSELL'S COFFEE, No. 1, an excellent article.....	1s. 4d.
JOHN CASSELL'S COFFEE, No. 2, cannot fail to give satisfaction, being a combination of the choicest growths of Jamaica.....	1s. 8d.
JOHN CASSELL'S COFFEE, No. 3, to every connoisseur in Coffee, this will prove a treat, combining the finest mountain growths of Jamaica and Turkey.....	2s. 0d.

OBSERVE.—Every packet of **JOHN CASSELL'S** Coffee bears his signature, without which none is genuine.

TWO THOUSAND AGENTS WANTED FOR THE SALE OF JOHN CASSELL'S COFFEES.

These Coffees, both on account of quality and price, are certain to command a very large sale. Besides this, measures will be taken to make every family throughout the kingdom, as far as possible, acquainted with the fact, that they have the opportunity of purchasing articles of the qualities above stated, from an Agent in their own locality. It may be safely asserted, therefore, that few Agencies are more desirable, to persons who wish to make a valuable addition to their business, than the sale of **JOHN CASSELL'S** Coffees. It will be seen that, independent of the Commission allowed, the general trade of the Agent is certain to be benefited by the number of new customers who will be attracted to his place of business, and in consequence of his name being kept before the public, by means of advertisements, &c., as the Agent for **JOHN CASSELL'S** Coffee.

Private individuals having a respectable connexion, will do well to obtain this Agency, as there is no trouble attending it, the Coffees being weighed and packed in lead, ready for delivery. Applications for terms, &c., must be made direct to **JOHN CASSELL**, Abchurch-lane, London.

SASSAFRAS CHOCOLATE for INVALIDS.

DR. DE LA MOTTE'S Nutritive, Health-Restoring AROMATIC CHOCOLATE, prepared from the Nuts of the Sassafras Tree, and sold by the Patentee, 12, Southampton-street, Strand, and also by Chemists. This Chocolate contains the peculiar virtues of the Sassafras Root, which has long been held in great estimation for its purifying and alterative properties. The aromatic quality (which is very grateful to the stomach) most invalids require for breakfast and evening repast, to promote digestion; and to a deficiency of this property in the customary breakfast and supper, may in a great measure be attributed the frequency of cases of indigestion generally termed bilious. It has been found highly beneficial in correcting the state of the digestive organs, &c., from whence arise many diseases, such as eruptions of the skin, gout, rheumatism, and scrofula. In cases of debility of the stomach, and a sluggish state of the liver and intestines, occasioning flatulence, costiveness, &c., and in spasmodic asthma it is much recommended.

PROFITABLE AGENCY.—IMPORTANT TO TRADESMEN.

THE AGENCY OF THE BRITISH HONG KONG TEA COMPANY.—There is scarcely any Agency more advantageous to respectable Tradesmen, than that of this Company's Teas and Coffees. For, first, the quality or the goods is such as invariably to secure a good demand; hence a respectable income. Secondly, the general business of the Agent is sure to be beneficially influenced, as the Company advertise their Agents, as well as furnish them with a plentiful supply of Bills and Circulars, upon which the Agent's name is printed, and by the circulation of which the Agent's connexion will be greatly extended. All applications for Agencies to be made direct to the Company's Establishment, Budge-row, London.

TO BAPTIST CHURCHES destitute of Pastors.

A Member of a Baptist Church, who was formerly Minister in another denomination, is desirous of making an engagement with a destitute Church, where there is a prospect of extensive usefulness; the amount of salary a subordinate consideration. Reference permitted to Rev. R. Brewer, and Rev. J. Tunncliffe, Baptist Ministers. Address B. A., 38, Byron-street, Leeds.

COALS.—CUNDELL and COCKERELL assure

those who honour them with their patronage, that they still continue to sell none but the BEST WALL'S END COALS; and the extensive share of public favour which it has been their good fortune to experience, is a powerful incitement to them not to deviate from a principle and practice which have not only secured advantages to themselves, but which, they have substantial reasons for believing, have been highly satisfactory to those who have favoured them with their commands. Present Price, after deducting the usual discount for cash, 28s. per ton.

PURFLEET WHARF, EARL-STREET, BLACKFRIARS.

NERVO-PATHIC and MEDICAL GALVANIC

INSTITUTION, 46, Strand, conducted by Mr. DALBY, under the most distinguished patronage, for the Cure of all kinds of Nervous Complaints, including Deafness, Paralysis, Indigestion, &c., by means of Galvanism and the Nervo-pathic treatment, now so extensively employed by Mr. Dalby.

J. DALBY, 46, STRAND, Inventor of DALBY'S CELEBRATED NERVOUS CHLOROPHORM BALM.

HOMOEOPATHIC COCOA, prepared by JOHN

RELFE, No. 4, Gracechurch-street, on a plan which preserves the flavor and highly nutritive qualities of the Cocoa Nut in their fullest extent, and effectually frees it from those grosser oily particles which have rendered the use of it objectionable with persons of weak digestion. The purity and general excellence of this preparation has already procured for it an extensive and increasing sale among the Homoeopathic Public, and it is confidently recommended to all classes who desire an economical and palatable beverage for the breakfast, luncheon, or tea-tables.

ASHBY'S AUSTRALIAN PALE ALE.

CHIDELL and JONES, Wine and Spirit Merchants, 40, LIME-STREET, CITY, and Agents, by special appointment, for the sale of ASHBY'S CELEBRATED AUSTRALIAN PALE ALE, beg to inform their Friends and the Public, that this Season's Brewing is in splendid condition, in Bottle, and also in 9 and 18 gallon casks.

N.B. Strongly recommended by the Faculty.

THE QUEEN'S BISCUITS.—J. D. CARR and

Co., of Carlisle, and 111, Strand, London, Steam Biscuit Manufacturers to the Queen and Royal Family, by special appointment. The great celebrity which these biscuits have now for many years attained in the north has induced the proprietors to establish an extensive depot at 111, Strand, to afford the public a better opportunity of obtaining at all times a perfectly fresh supply, and at a considerable less price than is usually charged, and of a much superior quality. A very great and most important advantage is gained, and a material saving is effected in the manufacture of these biscuits, by the agency of steam power, which not only removes a decided objection of employing the hands in mixing and kneading the ingredients, but also prepares them in a more efficient and wholesome manner. J. D. C. and Co. respectfully solicit the attention of the public to their celebrated genuine PREPARED BISCUIT POWDER, which has received the most gratifying testimonials as a valuable article of consumption. Being light and nutritious, it is peculiarly adapted for children's food, and also for domestic purposes. Sold in packets, 6d. and 1s. each. **OBSERVE THE ADDRESS, 111, STRAND, LONDON,** nearly opposite Exeter-hall.

PLUMBE'S GENUINE ARROWROOT, from the

SOUTH SEA ISLANDS.—It is hoped that families will use this Arrowroot in preference to any other, as the demand for it in this country will promote the commercial interests of the natives of these interesting Islands.

Sold retail, by Snow, Paternoster-row; Ford, Islington; Mawby, Aldgate; Medes, Camberwell; Burnside, Blackheath; Morgan, Sloane-street; Poulton, Hackney; Hooper, King William-street; Abbie, Gracechurch-street; Starling, Islington; Albright, Newington-causeway; Taylor, 1, York-place, Denmark-hill, Camberwell, and others. Parties wishing to sell this article, may obtain particulars of A. S. Plumbe, 3, Allie-place, Great Allie-street, Whitechapel.—Agents continue to be appointed.

An excellent remedy for the Influenza.

THE PLATED SEAMLESS TEA-POTS cannot

be distinguished from silver, or leak, or lose their shape; while from the peculiarity of the process of making (just patented), their prices are about one-half of any other sort. Portland, 23s.; Oval plain, 23s.; Round plain, 25s.; Round engraved, 30s.; Antique (superior even to silver in its delicacy of finish), 40s.; in Britannia metal, Oval, 7s. 6d.; Round, 8s. 6d.; Portland, 7s. 6d. each.—Detailed catalogues, with engravings, as well as of every ironmongery article, sent (per post) free.

FENDERS, STOVES, and FIRE IRONS.

The LARGEST ASSORTMENT OF STOVES, KITCHEN RANGES, and FENDERS, as well as General Ironmongery, in the world, is now on sale at **WILLIAM S. BURTON'S** (late RIPPON and BURTON'S) extensive warehouses. Bright steel fenders, to 4 feet, from 30s. each; ditto ditto, with or-molu ornaments, from 60s.; rich bronzed scroll ditto, with steel bar, 10s. 6d.; iron fenders, 3 feet, 4s. 6d.; 4 feet, 6s.; ditto bronzed, and fitted with standards, 3 feet, 9s.; 4 feet, 11s.; wrought iron kitchen fenders, 3 feet, 4s. 6d.; 4 feet, 6s.; bright register stoves, with bronzed ornaments, and two sets of bars, from 80s.; ditto ditto, with or-molu ornaments, from 20 6s.; black dining-room register stoves, 2 feet, 18s.; 3 feet, 27s.; bed-room register stoves, 2 feet, 16s.; 3 feet, 24s. The new economical thermic stove, with fender and radiating hearth-plate; fire-irons for chambers, 1s. 9d. per set; handsome ditto, with cut heads, 6s. 6d.; newest pattern, with elegant bronzed heads, 11s. A variety of fire-irons, with or-molu and richly cut heads, at proportionate prices. Any article in the furnishing ironmongery, 30 per cent. under any other house. The money returned for every article not approved of. Detailed catalogues with engravings, sent (per post) free.

WILLIAM S. BURTON'S (late RIPPON and BURTON'S) stock of general furnishing ironmongery is literally the largest in the world, and as no language can be employed to give a correct idea of its variety and extent, purchasers are invited to call and inspect it—39, Oxford-street (corner of Newman-street). Established in Wells-street, 1820.

COMFORT FOR TENDER FEET, and a CERTAIN CURE FOR CORNS and BUNIONS.

PAUL'S EVERY MAN'S FRIEND.

Patronised by the Royal Family, Nobility, &c.

PAUL'S EVERY MAN'S FRIEND, which gives Relief on the First Application. Paul's Every Man's Friend (Corn Plaster) is generally admitted to be the best emollient application for Corns and Bunions, and is worthy of a trial on the part of those who are afflicted with such unpleasant companions.

Testimonials have been received from upwards of one hundred Physicians and Surgeons of the greatest eminence, as well as from many Officers of both Army and Navy, and nearly one thousand private letters from the gentry in town and country, speaking in high terms of this valuable remedy.

Prepared by John Fox, in boxes, at 1s. 1 1/2d., or three small boxes in one for 2s. 9d.; and to be had, with full directions for use, of G. King, 34, Napier-street, Hoxton New Town, London, and all wholesale and retail Medicine Vendors in town and country. The genuine has the name of "John Fox" on the Government stamp. A 2s. 9d. box cures the most obstinate corns.

Ask for "Paul's Every Man's Friend."

Sold also by Barclay and Sons, Farringdon-street; Edwards, 67, St. Paul's-churchyard; Butler and Harding, 4, Cheapside; Sutton, Bow-churchyard; Johnston, 68, Cornhill; Sanger, 150, Oxford-street; Willoughby and Co., 61, Bishopsgate-street Without; Owen, 52, Marchmont-street, Burton-crescent; Eade, 39, Goswell-street; Prout, 229, Strand; Hannay and Co., 63, Oxford-street; and retail by all respectable Medicine Vendors in every town in England.

DISTRESSING CASE, claiming the prompt and especial regard of the Benevolent.

As Mr. Bean, basket-maker, Ashford, was cutting osiers on the 11th of February, he complained of a severe pain about the region of the heart, and immediately expired. He was an industrious man, a kind husband, and a tender father; and has left a widow and three young children to lament his death, being in the most straitened circumstances, and wholly dependent on him for support. Contributions will be most thankfully received, and applied with the greatest possible economy, by Mr. Thomas Clarke, New-street, Ashford, Kent, Pastor of the Baptist Church; or at the Office of the "Nonconformist."

"He that giveth to the poor lendeth to the Lord."

LECTURES ON POPULAR EDUCATION.

THE BRITISH BANNER for February 23, will contain VERBATIM REPORTS of the LECTURE of EDWARD BAINES, jun., Esq., delivered at Crosby-hall, "On the Progress and Efficiency of Voluntary Education in England;" and, also, the LECTURE of the Rev. A. WELLS, "On the Education of the Working Classes." Both Lectures printed from the MS. of the Lecturers.

The receipt of Four Penny Stamps, addressed to the "Banner" Office, 5, Bolt-court, Fleet-street, will secure a copy of the paper per return of post.

N.B. The "BANNER," with a SUPPLEMENT, will contain NINETY-SIX COLUMNS, price 4d.

PSALMODY.—AGGREGATE MEETING of the

Rev. J. J. WAITE'S CLASSES at EXETER-HALL, MONDAY EVENING, FEB. 28.

Tickets, One Shilling each, are now ready for delivery, and may be obtained at the meetings of the classes at the several chapels during the present week.

The book used in the classes and a ticket are both necessary to gain admission.

T. E. THORESBY, } Secretaries.
J. S. EASTMEAD, }

Feb. 14, 1848.

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THE "NONCONFORMIST" NEWSPAPER.

AT a MEETING of GENTLEMEN held at the KING'S HEAD TAVERN, POULTRY, on THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 3rd, 1848; the Rev. JOHN BURNET in the Chair:

Moved by Colonel Thompson, M.P.; seconded by Dr. Thomas Price; and

Resolved—That in the opinion of this Meeting the earnest friends of political progress and ecclesiastical freedom are deeply indebted to the *Nonconformist* newspaper, for its able, fearless, and effective advocacy of their principles since the period of its establishment; that in the present position of public affairs, especially in relation to politico-religious establishments, it is highly desirable that means be adopted for more widely extending its influence; and that the announcement of its intended enlargement presents a fitting opportunity for a vigorous effort on the part of its supporters to procure for it a greatly increased circulation.

Moved by Charles Gilpin, Esq.; seconded by Thomas Box, Esq.; and

Resolved—That this Meeting do resolve itself into a Committee, with a view to the adoption of suitable measures for carrying into effect the foregoing resolution; and that the co-operation of others throughout the country, favourable to the object, be invited.

Moved by the Rev. T. E. Thoresby; seconded by Mr. T. Stephings; and

Resolved—That an Appeal to the Public, embodying the views of this Meeting, be prepared, to be signed by the Chairman; and that it be forthwith extensively circulated.

(Signed) JOHN BURNET, Chairman.

AN APPEAL from the COMMITTEE for EXTENDING the CIRCULATION of the "NONCONFORMIST" NEWSPAPER.

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN.

The formation of a Public Committee to extend the circulation of a Newspaper, is a step which, under ordinary circumstances, would require some explanation, if not apology. We are, however, assured that as no one will suspect us of being influenced by other than public considerations, so few will deny that there are important reasons which justify, if not demand, this species of interference.

The question submitted to you, is not whether the *Nonconformist* shall continue to exist, for it has already established for itself a position of permanent stability. Neither are we striving to supply a defect, or to strengthen falling powers; and still less do we base our appeal on mere pecuniary grounds, or even on feelings of personal regard. We address you simply as holding with cherished affection principles which you believe to be essential to right government, and which, as earnest men, you are anxious to commend to the judgment of others.

Far be it from us to depreciate other Journals devoted to the same cause. We accord to them all the praise their services merit; but, at the same time, we submit to you that the *Nonconformist* is peculiarly deserving of your attachment and support. The principles of which it has been the lucid exponent and the unswerving advocate, are such as commend themselves to every friend of political progress and of religious equality. Embracing in its powerful advocacy the whole extent of popular rights, it has aimed at the elevation of the middle and working classes to the possession of political power; and insisting, with inflexible purpose, on the observance of justice as the only rule of legislative action, it has demonstrated the oneness of the great principle of civil and religious freedom.

Upon the great body of Nonconformists, it has a claim such as no other organ of public opinion can present. Demanding for all men unconditional religious equality, and asserting the spirituality of genuine Christianity, as well as the superiority of voluntary effort over the corrupt and oppressive machinery of a State-church, it has unceasingly laboured to liberate religion from the thralldom by which it has so long been enfeebled and degraded. During a period of seven years, and struggling with no common difficulties, it has brought to the application of this, its chosen theme, a strength and integrity of purpose—a clearness and breadth of argument—and a vigour and richness of style, which have caused the principles of Nonconformity to be respected in quarters where they had previously been but impatiently tolerated, and to be loved and acted on by those who, while holding them, were yet insensible to their worth.

It is very possible that, in pursuing the course which his judgment has approved, the Editor of the *Nonconformist* has sometimes expressed opinions in which all its readers do not fully concur; but, since few minds think alike on all subjects, this can excite no surprise. Yours is not a work to be performed in a slavish spirit; and while claiming the fullest liberty of thought for yourselves, it becomes you to exercise a generous forbearance towards your organs. In the present instance, you have ample proof, that whatever sentiments have been advanced, they have been the utterance of a mind conscious of rectitude, and nerved by a heroic love for truth.

Nor has the *Nonconformist* to rely for success on promises, however large, or designs, however excellent. It is a tried servant, having not only fulfilled every expectation originally held out, but acquired a moral power surpassing in degree the most sanguine hopes of its supporters. It would evidence dulness not to perceive, and disingenuousness not to acknowledge, that Dissenters have been led to take up their present advanced position under the influence of its faithful counsels and heart-stirring appeals. By its untiring energy it has succeeded in creating, if not a new party, yet a healthy tone of public feeling, which constitutes a new era in the history of Nonconformity, and which alone would secure for it immortal honour.

The present position of our national affairs, and the state of the public mind in relation to them, renders the more general support of such a Journal a matter of the most pressing necessity. Popular principles are rapidly advancing, and they require a high order of advocacy to ensure their practical acknowledgment by the Legislature. The subject of politico-religious establishments is becoming a topic of universal interest, and is fast ripening for legislative discussion. The recent measures, and still more the avowed intentions, of our statesmen, as well as the light thrown upon the enslaved condition of the State-Church by the scenes now enacting within its pale, announce that the time has come for earnest action, and hold out a prospect neither faint nor distant of ultimate success.

Whatever other agency may be employed in the work, be assured that it is on the Public Press we must mainly rely, as the most potent instrument in effecting this mighty, but peaceful, revolution. And, Fellow-Countrymen, to what quarter can you so confidently look for help in the coming struggle, as to that from which you have already received so much? Gratitude alone should prompt you to actively for increasing the support of such a Journal, as the best and most graceful acknowledgment of the rare devotedness of its gifted Editor to the cause of universal freedom and humanity. How strong, then, is the incentive when, added to this, you know that by bringing a larger portion of the public mind under its instruction you will advance the noblest principles, and pave the way for their speedier triumph.

The proposed enlargement of the *Nonconformist* affords a fitting opportunity for extending its circulation to an extent commensurate with its claims. With the additional attractions and advantages, such as augmented space and multiplied resources will afford, it will require but a wider circle of readers to leave it without a rival among the Weekly Press. Urged by a strong sense of public duty to make this appeal on its behalf, we beg, with as much of earnestness as is consistent with courtesy, to invite that co-operation and individual exertion which are requisite to give it practical effect. Remember, the cause is your own for which we plead, and should you withhold a generous response, you must be sharers with us in the disappointment and the shame.

(Signed) On behalf of the Committee, JOHN BURNET, Chairman.

Correspondence (with suggestions) is invited, addressed to the Rev. JOHN BURNET, 4, Horse-shoe Court, Ludgate-hill, London. Money orders in aid of a fund to meet expenses, must be made payable to Mr. STAFFORD ALLEN, the Treasurer, at the same place. Copies of the "Appeal," will be supplied on application as above.

THE "NONCONFORMIST" NEWSPAPER.

THE COMMITTEE for promoting the CIRCULATION of the "NONCONFORMIST" have great pleasure in announcing that they have already received numerous assurances of cordial and hearty co-operation from various parts of the kingdom, and earnestly request their other friends to communicate with the Chairman (Rev. JOHN BURNET) as early as possible.

The Treasurer (Mr. Stafford Allen) acknowledges the receipt of several handsome contributions, a list of which will appear.

4, Horse-shoe Court, Ludgate-hill, Feb. 16, 1848.

The First Number of

"JUSTICE,"

A New Weekly Newspaper, will be published on SATURDAY, the 26th of February.

THIS JOURNAL is established to collect and diffuse information on the CURRENCY with a view to place our Monetary System on a firmer and more equitable basis. The great Political Questions of the day will be discussed on the principle—The right of the individual, not the might of the many, nor the favour of the few. An ample selection of the News of the week, Reports of the Markets, Prices Current, &c., will be given. The "JUSTICE" will comprise SIXTEEN PAGES LARGE FOLIO SIZE, and will be published regularly every SATURDAY, by MIALl and COCKSHAW, at 4, Horse-shoe Court, Ludgate-hill, where all Communications to the Editor should be addressed. Price 6d., 6s. 6d. per quarter, or 26s. per annum (post-office orders to be made payable to the Publishers). Advertisements for the First Number, which will comprise a very large impression, should be sent not later than WEDNESDAY, the 23d. An Edition will be published in time for the Morning Mails. Order of any Newsmen.

A Catechism on Capital, Currency, Value, Standard of Value, Appreciation, Depreciation, and Banking, &c., will be commenced in the First Number.

REV. R. W. HAMILTON, D.D., LL.D.

On THURSDAY EVENING NEXT, February 24, 1848, at a QUARTER BEFORE SEVEN O'CLOCK, a SERMON will be preached in Rev. J. WADDINGTON'S CHAPEL, Union-street, Borough, by the Rev. Dr. HAMILTON, of Leeds, after which a Collection will be made in aid of the Funds of the Union-street Branch of the CHRISTIAN INSTRUCTION SOCIETY.

LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

PROSPECTIVE DEFICIENCY OF THE SOCIETY'S INCOME FOR THE PRESENT YEAR.

AT a SPECIAL MEETING of the TOWN and COUNTRY DIRECTORS, held at the MISSION-HOUSE, on the 16th of November ult., the following brief statement was presented:—

"The Directors having carefully examined the present state and prospects of the Society's Finances, are of opinion that there will be a deficiency in the income of the year, as compared with the expenditure, to the extent of £12,500; arising as follows:—
Deficiency in Legacies (as compared with the amount of last year) £1000 0 0
Estimated deficiency in Ordinary Contributions 4000 0 0
Increased Expenditure in the outfit of the Ship, and orders in advance for the South Sea Missionaries .. 4500 0 0
£12,500 0 0

The Board was numerously attended by Representatives from several different Auxiliaries in different counties; and, after an extended conference, it was

Resolved unanimously, "That a statement of the present and prospective financial position of the society be made, *instantly*, to its attached and generous friends in London and throughout the country, accompanied by an urgent appeal for special contributions to meet its present exigency; the same to be realized as speedily as practicable."

It was deemed by the meeting most desirable to restrict the application for assistance to individuals, from an apprehension that a more general and public appeal to congregations would injuriously affect the ordinary contributions of its constituents—an evil most carefully to be avoided.

Although the present effort is only designed to meet the exigency of the year, the Directors are still more anxious, as far as may be possible, permanently to equalize the ordinary income and outlay of the Society. This can only be accomplished by degrees; it has, however, already been realized in part; and they cherish the earnest hope, that by perseverance in a watchful system of economy on the one hand, and on the other, by improving the system of missionary organization, and thus augmenting the annual resources, the necessity of special appeals, like the present, may hereafter be prevented.

While the Directors feel it incumbent to make this explicit statement of the present and prospective position of the Society's Finances, and to devise the best measures to prevent the evil they foresee at the close of the Missionary Year; and while they are fully sensible of the commercial difficulties felt by the friends of the Society, in common with the Members of kindred Institutions, they cannot yield to discouragement, much less to alarm. The devoted Agents of the Society are labouring with the most decisive proofs of the Divine favour in every department of Missionary Service. To recall any of these faithful men, and to relinquish fields white unto the harvest, would involve criminality which the Directors would not dare to incur, and which the Churches of Britain would not fail to condemn. They have administered the funds committed to their stewardship with conscientious integrity, and according to their best judgments; they confidently rely upon the steady attachment and liberality of the Society's friends to meet the present emergency; and they humbly look to the God of Missions, whose cause they aim to serve, to sanction this appeal and crown it with success.

Signed by order of the Board of Directors,
CUTTING EARDLEY EARDLEY, Treas. sur.
ARTHUR TIDMAN, Secretaries.
JOSEPH JOHN FREEMAN,
Mission-house, Blomfield-street, London,
January 25th, 1848.

The application has hitherto been almost restricted to the Friends of the Society in London and its vicinity, and the following list of donations exhibits the gratifying results:—

LONDON.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
W. A. Hankey, Esq.	200 0 0	N. Griffiths, Esq.	10 10 0
W. Flanders, Esq.	200 0 0	W. Maddow, Esq.	10 10 0
Sir C. E. Lardley, Bart.	100 0 0	Dr. Cooke	10 0 0
T. M. Coombs, Esq.	100 0 0	P. Johnstone, Esq.	10 0 0
J. East, Esq.	100 0 0	J. Leach, Esq.	10 0 0
F. Smith, Esq.	100 0 0	S. P. Arnold, Esq.	10 0 0
Enoch Smith, Esq.	100 0 0	W. Dudley, Esq.	10 0 0
W. Walker, Esq.	100 0 0	T. Woutner, Esq.	10 0 0
Joshua Wilson, Esq.	100 0 0	Mrs. R. Woutner	10 0 0
E. Swaine, Esq.	100 0 0	Miss Cressley	10 0 0
G. Wilson, Esq.	100 0 0	Miss Bibbins	10 0 0
G. B. Hart, Esq.	100 0 0	John Snow, Esq.	10 0 0
Messrs. Spicer	100 0 0	Rev. Dr. Jenkins	10 0 0
Mrs. Broadley Wilson	100 0 0	Dr. Harris	10 0 0
J. R. Mills, Esq.	100 0 0	John Clayton	10 0 0
Juvenile Friends at St. Thomas's-square, Hackney, per Rev. Dr. Burder	60 0 0	H. Townley	10 0 0
G. Hitchcock, Esq.	50 0 0	J. Johnston, Esq.	10 0 0
W. Leavers, Esq.	50 0 0	Miss Collins	10 0 0
John Finch, Esq.	50 0 0	Rev. G. Smith	10 0 0
Edith Smith, Esq.	50 0 0	A. Tidman	10 0 0
E. Edwards, Esq.	50 0 0	J. J. Freeman	10 0 0
W. Sharp, Esq.	50 0 0	J. Newbold, Esq.	10 0 0
A Friend	50 0 0	J. Field, Esq.	10 0 0
C. Marten, Esq.	25 0 0	J. Moul, Esq.	10 0 0
J. Carter, Esq.	25 0 0	Mrs. Proctor	10 0 0
R. Simpson, Esq.	21 0 0	The Misses Hall	10 0 0
Sir E. N. Buxton, Bart.	20 0 0	J. B. Turner, Esq., and Miss Turner	10 0 0
Rev. Dr. Burder	20 0 0	J. Taylor, Esq.	10 0 0
R. Goufield, Esq.	20 0 0	Mrs. J. Taylor	10 0 0
T. E. Parson, Esq.	20 0 0	E. Gouldsmith, Esq.	10 0 0
James Smith, Esq.	20 0 0	A. Goymer, Esq.	10 0 0
G. Ketne, Esq.	20 0 0	A Friend, per Rev. J. Stoughton	10 0 0
J. Trego, Esq.	20 0 0	Miss Leete, per J. East, Esq.	10 0 0
W. Trego, Esq.	20 0 0	Rev. Dr. Townley	10 0 0
B. Smith, Esq.	20 0 0	E. Mason, Esq.	10 0 0
W. Smith, Esq.	20 0 0	J. Harvey, Esq.	5 5 0
J. Davis, Esq.	20 0 0	H. Harvey, Esq.	5 5 0
A Friend, by Rev. J. Stoughton	20 0 0	W. C. Wright, Esq.	5 5 0
J. Curling, Esq.	20 0 0	J. Brewer, Esq.	5 5 0
W. Harvey, Esq.	20 0 0	W. Knott, Esq.	5 5 0
T. A. Hankey, Esq.	20 0 0	D. Scott, Esq.	5 5 0
Mrs. Brown	20 0 0	A. F. Taylor, Esq.	5 5 0
W. Patrick, Esq.	20 0 0	A. Anderson, Esq.	5 5 0
J. G. Palford, Esq.	20 0 0	J. Waugh, Esq.	5 5 0
Two Friends, per Rev. J. Stoughton	20 0 0	J. Saunders, Esq.	5 5 0
Dr. Conquest	15 15 0	W. H. Warton, Esq.	5 5 0
Rev. G. Clayton	10 10 0	T. Morgan, Esq.	5 5 0
A. F. Slade, Esq.	10 10 0	Rev. Dr. Campbell	5 5 0
J. Lewin, Esq.	10 10 0	J. Lefever, Esq.	5 5 0
J. Burroughs, Esq.	10 10 0	George Clarke, Esq.	5 5 0
		Thos. Greenwood, Esq.	5 5 0
		Geo. Greenwood, Esq.	5 5 0

With the promise of an additional £100, if there are nine other contributions of an equal sum.

Miss George	5 0 0	R. Lindsay, Esq.	5 0 0
Miss M. George	5 0 0	J. Rolis, Esq.	5 0 0
Mrs. Elliott	5 0 0	John Sard, Esq.	5 0 0
W. Emerson, Esq.	5 0 0	Sums under £5	27 10 0
R. Maynard, Esq.	5 0 0		
			£3,083 10 0

FROM THE COUNTRY.

FROM THE COUNTRY.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
John Henderson, Esq.	100 0 0	W. Wilson, Esq., Torquay	10 0 0
T. Thompson, Esq., Poundsford-park	100 0 0	A. Taylor, Esq., Tunbridge Wells	10 0 0
Potto Brown, Esq.	100 0 0	W. Seymour, Esq., Odiham	10 0 0
Houghton	100 0 0	J. G. Seymour, Esq., Odiham	10 0 0
A Friend in Kent	100 0 0	Mrs. Parmenter, Exmouth	10 0 0
Per Rev. J. Bristow, Exeter	100 0 0	A Friend, per Rev. E. Prout	10 0 0
J. Butcher, Esq., Norwich	50 0 0	Rev. Dr. Paterson, Edinburgh	10 0 0
W. Baxter, Esq., Dundee	50 0 0	Messrs. Sully, Bridge-water	6 6 0
E. Baxter, Esq., Dundee	50 0 0	W. Peckover, Esq., Wicheath	5 0 0
J. Venning, Esq., Norwich	20 0 0	T. Windeatt, jun., Esq., Tavistock	5 0 0
J. Ward, Esq., Wolsingham	20 0 0	Miss Winstock, Tavistock	5 0 0
A. Brewin, Esq., Tiverton	20 0 0	Mrs. Wilson, sen., Torquay	5 0 0
S. Smith, Esq., Odiham	20 0 0	A Friend, per Rev. E. Prout	5 0 0
Ebenezer, per Rev. E. Prout	20 0 0	C. J. Metcalf, Esq., Roxton	5 0 0
T. Windeatt, Esq., Tavistock	15 0 0	W. Sedman, Esq., Lit-church	5 0 0
Rev. J. Barlett, Grant-Maynard, Esq.	10 10 0		
Healey	10 0 0		
ham	10 0 0		
S. Payne, Esq., Southampton	10 0 0		
			£3,990 6 0

TESTIMONIAL TO WILLIAM LOVETT.

A PUBLIC TEA PARTY and SOIREE for the purpose of presenting the TESTIMONIAL (which has been raised by subscription) to WILLIAM LOVETT, will take place in the NATIONAL HALL, 242, High Holborn, on WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 23rd, 1848. J. HUMFREYS PARRY, Esq., in the Chair.

The following gentlemen have already intimated their intention of being present:—Dr. Bowring, M.P.; George Thompson, Esq., M.P.; W. H. Ashurst, Esq.; W. Howitt, Esq.; Dr. E. Rowton, Esq.; Mr. Thomas Bees; and Mr. Henry Vincent.

The proceedings of the evening will be interspersed with a variety of appropriate singing by Miss Thornton, Mrs. W. Dixon, Mr. Edney, and Mr. N. J. Spoor.

Tea on table at Six o'clock precisely. Tickets for Tea and Dessert of Fruit, &c., 1s. 6d. Double tickets (admitting a lady and gentleman or two ladies) 2s. 6d.; to be had of Mr. C. Elt, 18, High-street, Islington; Mr. I. A. Thomas, High-street, Kingsland; Mr. George Cox, 128, High Holborn; Mr. John Cleave, 1, Shoe-lane, Fleet-street; and at the National-hall.

I. F. MOLLETT, Hon. Sec.

ORPHAN WORKING SCHOOL, HAVERSTOCK-HILL, For Children of both sexes, of all denominations, and from every part of the Kingdom.

FIFTY CHILDREN will be admitted into the School during the present year. The Candidates must be between Seven and Eleven years of age, in good health, and have been neither paupers nor prisoners. Persons desirous of placing Orphans in this Institution, may have the necessary form of petition, &c., by applying to the Secretary.

Votes polled for unsuccessful candidates, are carried to their credit for the next election. Cases intended for the April Election must be forwarded before the 29th instant. Annual Subscribers, 10s. 6d. and 21s. Life Donors, £5 5s., and £10 10s., and upwards.

The NINETEENTH ANNIVERSARY of the Charity will be celebrated by a PUBLIC FESTIVAL, on THURSDAY, the 11th of MAY, when LORD ROBERT GROSVENOR, M.P., will preside. JOSEPH SOUL, Secretary.

Office, 19, Gresham-street, London, Feb. 9, 1848.

HIGH WYCOMBE SCHOOL,

FOR THE EDUCATION OF MINISTERS' DAUGHTERS OF ALL DENOMINATIONS. ESTABLISHED JULY, 1846.

Committee.

Treasurer—The Rev. F. A. Cox, D.D., LL.D.
Rev. T. W. Aveling, Kingsland. Rev. J. Viney, Bethnal-green.
" H. J. Gamble, Peckham. Samuel Findley, Esq., Hackney.
" W. G. Lewis, Kensington. D. Hearn, Esq., High Wycombe.
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" J. Sprigg, M.A., Margate. John Hoppe, Esq., London.
" J. Smith, New Park-street. W. Huxtable, Esq., Hackney.
" F. Trestrail, 33, Moorgate-st. Joseph Veary, Esq., Pentonville.

Auditors—Thomas Lee, Esq., The Elms, Hackney; James Roberts, Esq., East Cheap.

Collector—Mr. William Parnell, B. Ayon Cottages, Kingsland.
Secretaries—The Rev. Jesse Hobson, High Wycombe; Mr. John Webb, Park-place, Dalston.

AT a MEETING of the COMMITTEE, held at 33, MOORGATE-STREET, on TUESDAY, January 11, W. HUXTABLE, Esq., in the Chair.

Resolved unanimously,—That a Special Fund be raised to provide the requisite furniture for Forty Pupils, their Teachers, and Servants.

£150 will be required. Donations will be thankfully received by any Member of the Committee; and at the Offices of the *Patriot*, *Nonconformist*, and *British Banner* newspapers.

JESSE HOBSON, } Secretaries.
JOHN WEBB, }

HIGH WYCOMBE SCHOOL FOR MINISTERS' DAUGHTERS. Dr. F. A. Cox, Treasurer.

THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE have great pleasure in informing the Subscribers to the above School, that it has been placed under the efficient superintendence of Mrs. Fox, late of Paulton, Somerset, and that they have ventured, in their confidence of public support, to receive 29 pupils. To sustain its operations they appeal to the friends of an Evangelical Ministry. A permanent income of only £400 per annum would be amply sufficient to meet its expenditure.

Subscriptions will be thankfully received by the Treasurer, or any Member of the Committee, and by
JESSE HOBSON, High Wycombe, } Secretaries.
JOHN WEBB, Dalston, }

Printed by CHARLES SEPTIMUS MIALl, of No. 55, Gracechurch-street, in the City of London, and SAMUEL COCKSHAW, of No. 48, Baker-street, in the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, at No. 4, Horse-shoe-court, in the parish of St. Martin Ludgate, in the City of London, and published for the proprietor, by CHARLES SEPTIMUS MIALl, at the office, No. 4, Horse-shoe-court, Ludgate-hill.—WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1848.